

THE
CHURCH HISTORY OF
BRITAIN;

FROM
THE BIRTH OF JESUS CHRIST UNTIL
THE YEAR M.DC.XLVIII.

ENDEAVOURED
BY THOMAS FULLER, D.D.
PREBENDARY OF SARUM.

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SECT. V.

TO

DANIEL HARVEY, ESQ.,

HIGH SHERIFF OF SURREY ^a.

I am sufficiently sensible of the great distance and disproportion betwixt my meanness and your worth, as at all other times, so now especially, whilst you are a prime officer in public employment. Despairing, therefore, that my pen can produce any thing meet for your entertainment, I have endeavoured in this Section to accommodate you with company fittest for your converse, being all no meaner than statesmen, and most of them privy counsellors, in their several letters about the grand business of conformity.

God in due time bless you and your honourable consort with such issue as may be a comfort to you and a credit to all your relations.



ERY strongly Leicester, (though at the A. D. 1582.
council-table politiciely complying with ^{25 Eliz.}
the rest of the lords, and concurring
always with their results when sitting
in conjunction with them,) when alone,

A form of
discipline
considered
of by the
brethren
in a solemn

^a [Arms. Or, on a chief indented sable three crescents argent. Third son of Thomas Harvey, esq and Joan his wife, daughter of John Halke, esq, both of the county of Kent. He was brother to the celebrated Dr. William Harvey, who discovered the circulation of the blood, and married Elizabeth, daughter of Edward

lord Montague, of Boughton, Fuller's great friend. At the Restoration he was made ranger of Richmond Park, (17th Aug 1660,) and was therefore undoubtedly a good royalist. Afterwards he was employed as ambassador at Constantinople, and received the honour of knighthood. The year of his death I have not discovered.]

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synod, with
the several
decrees
thereof.

engaged his affections in favour of the nonconformists, and improved his power (at this time very great with the queen) to obtain great liberty for them. Hence it was that many bishops, active in pressing subscription in their diocese, when repairing to court were checked and snibbed by this great favourite, to their no small grief and discouragement. Heartened hereat, the brethren, who hitherto had no particular platform of discipline amongst themselves, (as universally owned and practised by their party,) began in a solemn council held by them (but whether at Cambridge or London, uncertain) to conclude on a certain form, as followeth in these their decrees, faithfully translated out of their own Latin copy :

The Title thereof, viz.

“ THESE BE THE THINGS THAT (DO SEEM) MAY WELL
“ STAND WITH THE PEACE OF THE CHURCH.”

The Decrees ^a.

“ Let no man (though he be an university man)
“ offer himself to the ministry, nor let any man take
“ upon him an uncertain and vague ministry, though
“ it be offered unto him ; but such as be called to
“ the ministry by some certain church, let them
“ impart it unto that *classis* or *conference* whereof
“ themselves are, or else to some greater church-
“ assembly ; and if such shall be found fit by them,
“ then let them be commended by their letters unto

^a Under Mr. Wight's hand, *Dangerous Positions*, p 46,
a man of the brotherhood ; [Book III. c. 3.]
cited by bishop Bancroft his

“ the bishop, that they may be ordained ministers
 “ by him. Those ceremonies in the Book of Com-
 “ mon Prayer, which, being taken from popery, are
 “ in controversy, do seem that they ought to be
 “ omitted and given over, if it may be done without
 “ danger of being put from the ministry. But if
 “ there be any imminent danger to be deprived, then
 “ this matter must be communicated with the *classis*
 “ in which that church is, that by the judgment
 “ thereof it may be determined what ought to be
 “ done. If subscription to the Articles of Religion
 “ and to the *Book of Common Prayer* shall be again
 “ urged, it is thought that the *Book of Articles* may
 “ be subscribed unto, according to the statute 13
 “ Elizabeth ; that is, unto such of them only as con-
 “ tain the sum of Christian faith and doctrine of the
 “ sacraments. But for many weighty causes, neither
 “ the rest of the Articles in that book, nor the *Book*
 “ of *Common Prayer*, may be allowed ; no, though a
 “ man should be deprived of his ministry for it.

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“ It seemeth that churchwardens and collectors
 “ for the poor might thus be turned into elders, and
 “ into deacons.

“ When they are to be chosen, let the church
 “ have warning, fifteen days before, of the time of
 “ election, and of the ordinance of the realm ; but
 “ especially of Christ's ordinance, touching appoint-
 “ ing of watchmen and overseers in his church, who
 “ are to foresee that none offence or scandal do arise
 “ in the church ; and if any shall happen, that by
 “ them it may be duly abolished.

“ And touching deacons of both sorts, (viz. men
 “ and women,) the church shall be monished what is
 “ required by the apostle ; and that they are not to

A. D. 1582. “ choose men of custom and of course, or for their
 25 Eliz “ riches, but for their faith, zeal, and integrity; and
 “ that the church is to pray, in the mean time, to
 “ be so directed, that they make choice of men that
 “ be meet.

“ Let the names of such as are so chosen be published the next Lord’s day; and after that their duties to the church, and the church’s towards them, shall be declared. Then let them be received unto the ministry to which they are chosen, with the general prayers of the whole church. The brethren are to be requested to ordain a distribution of all churches according to these rules, in that behalf, that are set down in the *Synodical Discipline*, touching *classical, provincial, comitial*, or of *commencements*, and *assemblies for the whole kingdom*.

“ The *classes* are to be required to keep acts of memorable matters, which they shall see delivered to the *comitial assembly*, that from thence they may be brought by the *provincial assembly*.

“ Also they are to deal earnestly with patrons, to present fit men whensoever any church is fallen void in that *classis*.

“ The *comitial assemblies* are to be monished to make collections for relief of the poor, and of scholars; but especially for relief of such ministers here as are put out for not subscribing to the Articles tendered by the bishops; also for relief of Scottish ministers and others, and for other profitable and necessary uses.

“ All the *provincial synods* must continually beforehand foresee, in due time, to appoint the keeping of their next *provincial synods*; and for the send-

“ing of chosen persons, with certain instructions, A.D. 1582.
 “unto the *national synod*, to be holden whensoever 25 Eliz.
 “the parliament for the kingdom shall be called,
 “and at some certain set time every year.”

See we here the embryo of the presbyterian discipline, lying as yet, as it were, in the womb of episcopacy; though soon after it swelled so great, that the mother must violently be cut before the child could be delivered into the world, as to the public practice thereof.

2. Many observables in these decrees offer themselves to our consideration: Several observations on these decrees.

i. That they were written in Latin, (whereof they had two elegant penners, Cartwright and Travers,) shewing themselves no enemies to that tongue, which some ignorant sectaries afterward condemned for superstitious, counting every thing Romish which was Roman, and very cordials to be poison, if lapped up in Latin.

ii. Probably, as artists hang a curtain before their works, whilst yet imperfect, so these synodists thought fit in Latin as yet to veil their decrees from vulgar eyes, seeing nothing can be projected and perfected together; yea, the repetition of those words, “doth seem,” and “it seemeth,” (carrying something of uncertainty in them,) sheweth these decrees as yet admitted but as probationers, expecting confirmation on their good behaviour.

iii. The election of the people is here made the essence of a call to a pastoral charge, to which the presentation of the most undoubted patron is called in, but *ad corroborandum*. As for institution from the bishop, it was superadded, not to complete his

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ministerial function in point of conscience, but legally to enable the minister to recover his maintenance from the detainers thereof.

iv. Partial subscription is permitted to the Articles of Religion, viz. only to the doctrinal part thereof, but none to those wherein discipline is mentioned, especially to the clause at the end of the twentieth Article, "The church hath power to decree rites and ceremonies," &c., accounted by the brethren the very sting in the tail of the locusts.

v. Those words, "If subscription shall be urged again," plainly intimate that the reins of episcopal government were but loosely held, and the rigour thereof remitted, for the reasons by us fore-alleged.

vi. That churchwardens and collectors for the poor are so quickly convertible, even in their opinion, into elders and deacons, only with a more solemn and public election, shews the difference betwixt those officers to be rather nominal than real.

vii. By "women deacons," here mentioned, we understand such widows which the apostle appointeth in the primitive church to attend strangers and sick people, and which Mr. Cartwright affirmeth ought still to be continued^b; although he confesseth "there be learned men think otherwise."

viii. Their "comitial assemblies," kept in the universities at the commencements, (wisely they had an eye on the two eyes of the land,) were conveniently chosen, as safely shadowed under a confluence of people. See we here, though the matter of their discipline might be *jure Divino*, human prudence concurred much in the making thereof, as in ordering

^b In his Admonitions, p. 163, § 2.

a "national synod" always to run parallel with the parliament. A. D. 1582.
25 Eliz.

ix. Mention being made of "relieving Scottish ministers," if any ask what northern tempest blew them hither, know they quitted their own country about this time, upon refusal of conformity, and found benevolence in England a better livelihood than a benefice in Scotland.

x. The grand design driven on in these decrees was, to set up a discipline in a discipline, presbytery in episcopacy, which, as appears in the preface, they thought "might well stand with the peace of the church;" but this peace proved but a truce, this truce but a short one, before both parties brake into irreconcilable hostility.

Thus it is impossible to make a subordination in their practices, who have an opposition in their principles; for though such spheres and orbs which agree in one centre may proportionably move one within another, yet such as are eccentric can never observe equal distance in their motion, but will sag aside to grind and grate one the other. But enough hereof at this time, having jetted out a little already into the next year; no offence, we hope, seeing it makes our history more entire in this subject.

3. This year Robert Dickons, a Leicestershire youth, but, it seems, apprentice at Mansell in Nottinghamshire, having parts and pregnancy above his age and profession, arrived at such a height of profaneness, as not only to pretend to visions, but account himself Elijah, sent from God to perfect some defects in the prophecy of Malachi. But by God's blessing on the endeavours of Mr. Henry

A blas-
phemous
heretic re-
claimed.

A. D. 1582. 25 Eliz. Smith, (whom his uncle, Mr. Briant Cave, this year sheriff of Leicestershire, employed therein,) this heretic was reclaimed ^c, renouncing his blasphemies by subscription under his own hand, and, for aught I find to the contrary, lived peaceably and painfully the remainder of his life.

The character of Mr. Henry Smith

4. This is that Henry Smith, born at Withcock in Leicestershire, of a worshipful family, and elder brother to sir Roger Smith, (still surviving,) bred in Oxford; and afterwards became that famous preacher at St. Clement's Danes in London, commonly called the "silver-tongued Smith," being but one metal, in price and purity, beneath St. Chrysostom himself ^d. Yea, whereas generally the sermons of those days are now grown out of fashion, (such is our age's curiosity and affectation of novelty,) Smith's sermons keep up their constant credit, as appears by their daily impressions, calculated for all times, places, and persons: so solid, the learned may partly admire; so plain, the unlearned may perfectly understand them. The wonder of his worth is increased by the consideration of his tender age, dying very young about fifty years ago ^e.

The death of Richard Bristow.

5. I find three of such, who seemed pillars in the Romish church, deceased this year: first, Richard Bristow, born in Worcestershire, bred in Oxford, in Exeter College, whence he fled beyond the seas, and by cardinal Allen was made overseer of the English

^c See Mr. Smith's Sermon of the lost sheep found.

^d [See some account of him in Wood's Athen. I. 263, and in Strype's Aylmer, p. 100. His sermons were collected by

Fuller, in 4to, 1657, and he prefixed a life to them, containing very little information.]

^e About the year 1600, as I am informed by his brother. [In 1593, according to Wood.]

college, first at Douay, then at Rheims. He wrote A. D. 1582. most in English, (*humili quidem stilo*, saith one of ^{25 Eliz.} his own opinion ^f;) but very solidly; for proof whereof, let his books against Dr. Fulke be perused. For the recovery of his health he was advised to return into his native land, and died quietly near the city of London ^g.

6. The second, Nicholas Harpsfield, bred first in ^{The death of Nicholas Harpsfield.} Winchester School, then New College, in Oxford, where he proceeded doctor of law, and afterward became archdeacon of Canterbury. Under king Edward the Sixth, he banished himself; under queen Mary, he returned, and was advanced; and under queen Elizabeth, imprisoned for denying her supremacy. Yet such was his mild usage in restraint, that he had the opportunity to write much therein; and, amongst the rest, his Ecclesiastical History, no less learnedly than painfully performed ^h; and, abating his partiality to his own interest, well deserving of all posterity. He wrote also six dialogues in favour of his religion ⁱ; but, because in durance, he durst not set it forth in his own, but under the name of Alan Cope. Yet, lest truth should be concealed, and friend defraud friend of his due praise, he caused

^f Pitz. in Vita, p. 779.

^g [18th Oct. 1581, according to Wood, Athen. I. 212, who has compiled a very accurate account of his life and writings. He was the author of a work in considerable repute among those of his own persuasion, entitled "Motiva omnibus Catholicæ Doctrinæ orthodoxis cultoribus pernecessaria," &c. Attrebat, 4to., 1608. To this work a short account of the author is prefixed by Dr. Wor-

thington.]

^h [Historia Anglicana Ecclesiastica, a primis gentis susceptæ fidei incunabulis ad nostra fere tempora deducta. Duac. fol. 1622.]

ⁱ [Dialogi sex contra summi pontificatus, monasticæ vitæ, sanctorum, sacrarum imaginum oppugnatores et pseudo-martyres. Antv 1566. 4to., of which see Tanner's Biblioth. p. 199.]

A. D. 1582. these capital letters to be engraved at the end of his
25 Ehz. book :

A. H. L. N. H. E. V. E. A. C.

Hereby mystically meaning, *Auctor Hujus Libri Nicholaus Harpesfeldus. Edidit Vero Eum Alanus Copus.* He died this year, at London, in prison, after twenty years' restraint, leaving behind him the general reputation of a religious man ^k.

The death
of Gregory
Martin.

7. The third, Gregory Martin, born at Macfield in Sussex, bred with Campian in St. John's College in Oxford; tutor to Philip earl of Arundel, eldest son to Thomas duke of Norfolk. Afterwards he went over beyond sea, and became divinity professor in the college of Rheims; died there October 28th, and is buried with a large epitaph under a plain monument ^l.

Letter hus-
tory best
history.

8. I shall now withdraw myself, or at leastwise stand by, a silent spectator, whilst I make room for far my betters to come forth and speak in the present controversy of church government. Call it not cowardice, but count it caution in me, if desirous in this difference to lie at a close guard, and offer as little play as may be on either side, whilst the reader shall behold the masters of defence on both sides engaged therein in these following letters of state. Baronius, the great Roman annalist, was wont to say, *Epistolaris historia est optima historia*—"that is the best history which is collected out of letters." How much of the Acts of the Apostles (especially for the regulation of time) is contained in the Epistles of St. Paul! Of the Primitive His-

^k [In 1583, according to Wood's Life of him, printed in the Athen. I. 214, and Tanner, 380.] ^l [Pitz.in Vita, p. 781. See also the account of him in Wood's Athen. I. 213.]

tory the most authentical part is what is gathered out of the letters of the fathers ; and in like manner the true estate of ecclesiastical affairs in the days of queen Elizabeth may be extracted out of the following despatches, and their returns, exhibiting the inclinations of their authors in pure naturals, without any adulterated addition, and therefore the surest for others' instruction, and safest for my own protection.

9. But one thing I must clear in our entrance thereon, in excuse that these letters are dateless as to the day and month, a great omission which I have seen in many originals, whose authors so minded the matter that they neglected the time ; the present dispatching of them being date enough to their purpose, though now the want thereof leaves posterity at a loss. A blue coat without a badge is but a white coat in effect, as nothing informing the beholder to what lord the bearer thereof doth relate ; and as little instructive, will some say, are these letters as to the point of chronology. But be it known that no reader's stomach can be so sharp set on the criticalness of chronology, but that, being fed with the certainty of the year, he will not be famished with the uncertainty of the month or day. Indeed, as such whose names are casually omitted in the register may recover the truth of their age by a comparative computation of their years who were born about the same time, so by the mixture and comparing of these dateless letters with those having date of secular affairs, I could competently have collected and inserted the time ; save that I loathe to obtrude any thing conjectural on the reader's belief. But we must begin with the ensuing petition, as the groundwork of all the rest :

A. D. 1582.
25 Eliz.

Objection
against let-
ters' want
of date an-
swered.

A. D. 1583.
26 Eliz.

"The Ministers of Kent to the Privy Council ^m.

The peti-
tion of the
Kentish
ministers.

" May it please your honours, of your great and
wonted favour towards the distressed, to consider
these following: Whereas we have been called to
subscribe, in the county of Kent, to certain Arti-
cles propounded by my lord's grace of Canterbury
unto the ministers and preachers: the first con-
cerning her majesty's authority; the second con-
cerning no contrariety to the word of God in the
Book of Common Prayer and administration of the
sacraments, the book of ordering bishops, priests,
and deacons; and the third, that we believe all
things in the book of the Articles of Religion to
be agreeable to the word of God. Whereupon all
have most willingly offered to subscribe unto the
other two; and being pronounced in the open
court, *contumaces reservata pœna*, and so referred
to answer at law the 11th and 13th of February,
which we feared would be prosecuted with much
trouble and no resolution to our consciences, we
amongst the rest repaired with that careful avoid-
ing, that we could, of offence to his lordship's
grace, to whom when we had the first day made
known some of our doubts concerning the first
book only, (many more in number, and as great in
weight, concerning the first and second, and some
concerning the third remaining beside,) we have
upon our refusal, and record taken by public no-
tary of one point only from every particular refuser,
which moved him thereunto, and one place of
scripture adjoined without collection, or the reason

^m [See Strype's Whitgift, p. 123.]

“ of the same, been suspended from our ministry ; A.D 1583.
26 Eliz.
“ by which occasion, as we fear that that account
“ which hath been made of the consequence of our
“ cause, both in public sermons and pronouncing
“ of sentence against us, namely, that in denying to
“ subscribe to the two aforesaid Articles, we sepa
“ rated ourselves from the church, and condemne
“ the right service of God in prayer, and adminis-
“ tration of the sacraments in the church of England,
“ and the ministry of the same, and disobeyed her
“ majesty’s authority, hath been intimated to your
“ honours. So we think it our bound duties, most
“ humbly on our knees to beseech your honours to
“ know and make manifest in our behalf to her
“ majesty, that which we before the Lord in sim-
“ plicity protest: we in all reverence judge of the
“ authority which is established, and the persons
“ which were authors of those books, that they did
“ not only speak, but also did highly to the glory of
“ God promote the true religion of God, and the
“ glorious gospel of Jesus Christ, and that we so
“ esteem of those books, and there is nothing in
“ them to cause us to separate ourselves from the
“ unity of the church, which in the execution of our
“ ministry, in participation of the public prayers and
“ sacraments, we have in our own example testified,
“ and by public doctrine maintained; and that the
“ ministry of the word preached, and public adminis-
“ tration of the sacraments exercised in this land
“ according to authority, is, as touching the substance
“ of it, lawful and greatly blessed of God. And
“ lastly, that we have and always will shew ourselves
“ obedient to her majesty’s authority in all causes
“ ecclesiastical and civil, to whomsoever it be com-

A. D. 1583. "mitted; and therefore, that as poor but most faith-
 26 Eliz. "ful subjects to her majesty, and ministers of Jesus
 "Christ, the great cause we have in hand, and which
 "consequently (as we under your honour's correction
 "judge) the necessary reformation of many things
 "in the church, according unto God's word, may
 "have that sufficient hearing, as all causes of our
 "refusal to subscribe may be known, and equally out
 "of God's word judged of, and the lamentable estate
 "of the churches to which we appertain, with the
 "hard condition of us, may in that manner that
 "your honours' most excellent wisdom shall find
 "expedient in the pity of Jesus Christ, for the mean
 "time be relieved. The Lord Almighty vouchsafe,
 "for Jesus Christ his sake, long to continue and
 "bless your honours' wisdom and council, to the
 "great glory of God and the happy government of
 "her majesty, and flourishing estate of this church
 "of England!

"Your Honours' daily and faithful Orators,

"The MINISTERS OF KENT,

"which are suspended from the

"execution of their ministryⁿ."

The lords of the council sent this petition, with another bill of complaint exhibited unto them against Edmond Freak, bishop of Norwich, unto the arch-

ⁿ [One of the principal movers of this address was a turbulent and conceited person named Dudley Fenner, who had no cure, nor was a graduate of either university. He was the author of that farce, which afterwards prevailed to a great extent in this kingdom, of giving strange names in baptism; such as *Joy again*, *From above*, *More Fruit*, *Dust*, &c. See Strype, *ibid.* p. 124, 137, where the tracts of these ministers are summed up in a paper from this man's writings.]

bishop of Canterbury. What his answer was there-^{A. D. 1583.}
 unto the reader may inform himself out of the fol-^{26 Eliz.}
 lowing letter :

“ To the Lords of the Council.

“ Most Honourable,

“ Upon Sunday last, in the afternoon, master ^{The arch-}
 “ Beale brought unto me, in your lordships’ names, ^{bishop’s}
 “ two supplications or bills of complaint exhibited ^{letter in}
 “ unto your lordships: the one by certain ministers ^{answer}
 “ of Suffolk °, against their diocesan there; the other ^{thereof.}
 “ by some of Kent, against myself; with this further
 “ message, that it was your desires I should come
 “ to the court on Sunday next. It may please your
 “ good lordships to be advertised, that it seemeth
 “ something strange to me that the ministers of
 “ Suffolk, finding themselves aggrieved with the
 “ doings of their diocesan, should leave the ordinary
 “ course of proceeding by law, (which is to appeal
 “ unto me,) and extraordinarily trouble your lordships
 “ in a matter not so incident, as I think, to that
 “ most honourable board; seeing it hath pleased her
 “ majesty her own self in express words to commit
 “ these causes ecclesiastical to me, as to one who is
 “ to make answer to God, to her majesty in this
 “ behalf, my office also and place requiring the
 “ same.

“ In answer of the complaint of the Suffolk men
 “ of their ordinary’s proceeding against them, I have
 “ herewith sent to your lordships a copy of a letter
 “ which I lately received from his lordship, wherein
 “ I think that part of their bill to be fully answered,

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26 Eliz.

“ and his doings to have been orderly and charitable.
“ Touching the rest of their bill, I know not what
“ to judge of it, neither yet of what spirit it cometh;
“ but in some points it talketh, as I think, modestly
“ and charitably. They say they are no Jesuits sent
“ from Rome to reconcile, &c. True it is, neither
“ are they charged to be so; but notwithstanding
“ they are contentious in the church of England,
“ and by their contentions minister occasion of offence
“ to those which are seduced by Jesuits, and give
“ the arguments against the form of public prayer
“ used in this church and by law established, and
“ thereby increase the number of them, and confirm
“ them in their wilfulness. They also make a schism
“ in the church, and draw many other of her ma-
“ jesty’s subjects to a misliking of her laws and
“ government in causes ecclesiastical; so far are
“ they from persuading them to obedience, or at
“ least, if they persuade them to it in the one part
“ of her authority, (it is in causes civil,) they dis-
“ suade them from it as much in the other, (that is,
“ in causes ecclesiastical;) so that indeed they pluck
“ down with the one hand that which they seem to
“ build with the other. They say that they have
“ faithfully travelled in persuading to obedience, &c.,
“ and have therein prevailed, &c. It is but their
“ own testimony: I think it were hard for them to
“ shew whom they converted from papistry to the
“ gospel; but what stirs and dissensions they have
“ made amongst those which professed the gospel
“ before they were taught by them, I think it to be
“ apparent. It is notorious that in king Edward’s
“ time, and in the beginning of her majesty’s reign,
“ for the space of divers years, when this selfsame

“ book of public prayers was uniformly used, &c., by ^{A D 1583.}
 “ all learned preachers maintained, and impugned ^{26 Eliz.}
 “ by none, the gospel mightily prevailed, took great
 “ increase, and very few were known to refuse to
 “ communicate with us in prayer and participation
 “ of the sacraments. But since this schism and
 “ division, the contrary effect hath fallen out; and
 “ how can it otherwise be, seeing we ourselves con-
 “ demn that public form and order of prayer and
 “ administration of the sacraments, as in divers
 “ points contrary to the word of God, from which
 “ (as in like manner condemning the same) the
 “ papists do absent themselves. In the latter part of
 “ their bill, containing the reasons why they cannot
 “ submit themselves to observe the form prescribed
 “ by the book in all points, I wonder either at their
 “ ignorance or audacity: they say that the learned
 “ writers of our time have shewed their mislikings
 “ of some of our ceremonies. The most learned
 “ writers in our times have not so done, but rather
 “ reprov'd the mislikers; those few that have given
 “ contrary judgment therein have done more rashly
 “ than learnedly, presuming to give their censures of
 “ such a church as this is, not understanding the
 “ fruits of the cause, nor alleging any reason worth
 “ the hearing, especially one little college in either
 “ of our universities, containing in it more learned
 “ men than in their cities. But if the authority of
 “ men so greatly move them, why make they so
 “ small account of those most excellent and learned
 “ fathers who were the penners of the book? where-
 “ of divers have sealed their religion with their
 “ blood, which none yet have done of the impugn-
 “ of the book. The pope, say they, hath changed

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26 Eliz.

“ his *officium B. Mariæ*, &c. And so it is ; neither
 “ is there any man that doubteth but the Book of
 “ Common Prayer may also be altered, if there ap-
 “ pear good cause why to those in authority. But
 “ the pope will not suffer that *officium B. Mariæ*,
 “ &c. to be preached against, or any part thereof,
 “ till it was by public order reformed ; neither will
 “ he confess that he hath reformed it in respect of
 “ any errors, but such only as did creep in to the
 “ said book through private men’s affections, without
 “ authority. Therefore that argument is against
 “ them, and only used by them, as it seemeth, in
 “ contempt ; the rest is frivolous, and argueth their
 “ presumption in writing this to so honourable a
 “ board of so worthy and godly a book, which hath
 “ an hundred learned men to justify it for one that
 “ will impugn it. And thus much concerning them
 “ which I have written rather to satisfy your lord-
 “ ships, than that I thought the matter worthy my
 “ labour. The complaint which those of Kent (being
 “ of my own diocese, and by oath bound to me in
 “ canonical obedience) have exhibited unto your
 “ lordships, doth make me more to wonder, that
 “ they, most of them being unlearned and young,
 “ (such as I would be loath to admit into the minis-
 “ try, if they were not already admitted thereunto,
 “ much less to allow as preachers,) dare presume to
 “ bring my doings against them into question before
 “ your lordships, seeing I have done nothing but
 “ that which God, the law, her majesty, and my
 “ duty forceth me unto ; dealing with them not as
 “ an archbishop with the inferior sort of the clergy,
 “ nor as a master of a college with his fellows, nor
 “ as a magistrate with his inferiors, but as a friend

“ and a brother, which, as I think, hath so puffed A. D. 1583
26 Eliz.
 “ them up, and caused them to be so presumptuous.
 “ They came to me unsent for, in a multitude, which
 “ I reprovèd, because it imported a conspiracy, and
 “ had the shew of a tumult or unlawful assembly.
 “ Notwithstanding I was content to hear their com-
 “ plaint; I spent with them the whole afternoon,
 “ from two of the clock till seven, and heard their
 “ reasons, whereof some were frivolous and childish,
 “ some irreligious, and all of them such as gave me
 “ occasion to think that they rather sought quarrel
 “ against the book, than to be satisfied; which in-
 “ deed is true, as appeareth by some of their own
 “ confessions, which I am able to shew when I shall
 “ be thereunto urged. The two whole days following
 “ I spent likewise, for the most part, in dealing
 “ severally with them, requiring them to give unto
 “ me the chief and principal of their reasons which
 “ moved them not to subscribe, meaning to hear
 “ them in the rest if I could have satisfied them in
 “ it, or else not to spend any further time; which
 “ reasons (if I may so term them) they gave unto
 “ me, and I have and mean to make known when
 “ occasion shall serve. Whereas they say in their bill
 “ that the public administration of the sacraments in
 “ this land is, as touching the substance of it, lawful,
 “ &c., they say no more than the papists themselves
 “ do confess, and in truth they say nothing in effect
 “ to that wherewith they are charged; and yet there-
 “ in they are contrary to themselves, for they have
 “ pretended matter of substance against the book.
 “ But of what spirit cometh it that they, being no
 “ otherwise than they are, dare to the greatest autho-
 “ rity in this land next to her majesty so boldly offer

A. D. 1583. 26 Elz. “ themselves, thus to reason and dispute, as in their
“ bill they vaunt against the state established in
“ matters of religion, and against the book so learn-
“ edly and painfully penned, and by so great autho-
“ rity from time to time confirmed. It is not for me
“ to sit in this place, if every curate within my
“ diocese or province may be permitted so to use
“ me; neither is it possible for me to perform the
“ duty which her majesty looketh for at my hands,
“ if I may not without interruption proceed in exe-
“ cution of that which her highness hath especially
“ committed unto me. The gospel can take no
“ success, neither the number of papists be dimi-
“ nished, if unity be not procured; which I am not
“ in doubt in short time to bring to pass, without
“ any great ado or inconvenience at all, if it be not
“ hindered. The number of those which refuse to
“ subscribe is not great; in most parts of my pro-
“ vince not one, in some very few, and in some none,
“ whereof many also and the greater part are un-
“ learned and unworthy the ministry. In mine own
“ little diocese in Canterbury threescore preachers
“ and above have subscribed; whereas there are not
“ ten worthy the name of preachers which have as
“ yet refused, and most of them also not allowed
“ preachers by lawful authority; and so I know it
“ to be in all other dioceses within my province, the
“ diocese of Norwich only excepted; wherein never-
“ theless the number of the disordered is far less
“ than the number of such as are obedient and
“ quietly disposed. Now if these few disordered
“ (which the church may well spare, having meeter
“ men to place in their rooms) shall be countenanced
“ against the best, the wisest in all respects, the

“worthiest, and in effect the whole state of the A. D. 1583.
 “clergy, it will not only discourage the dutiful and 26 Eliz.
 “obedient persons, but so increase the schism, that
 “there will never hereafter be hope of appeasing
 “the same. This disordered flocking together of
 “them at this time from divers places, and gadding
 “from one to another, argueth a conspiracy amongst
 “them, and some hope of encouragement, and of
 “prevailing; which I am persuaded is not meant,
 “nor shall ever be by me willingly consented unto.
 “Some of them have already, as I am informed,
 “bruted abroad that your lordships have sent for
 “me to answer their complaints, and that they hope
 “to be delivered; wherein I know they report un-
 “truly, as the manner is, for I cannot be persuaded
 “that your lordships have any such intent as to
 “make me a party, or to call my doings into ques-
 “tion, which from her majesty are immediately com-
 “mitted unto me, and wherein, as I suppose, I have
 “no other judge but herself. And forasmuch as I
 “am by God and her majesty lawfully, without any
 “ordinary or extraordinary or unlawful means, called
 “to this place and function, and appointed to be
 “your pastor, and to have the greatest charge over
 “you in matters pertaining to the soul, I am the
 “more bold to move and desire you to aid and assist
 “me in matters belonging to my office; namely, such
 “as appertain to the quietness of the church, the
 “credit of religion established, and the maintenance
 “of the laws made for the same. And here I do
 “protest and testify unto your lordships, that the
 “three Articles whereunto they are moved to sub-
 “scribe are such as I am ready by learning to defend,
 “in manner and form as they are set down, against

A D. 1583
26 Eliz. “ all mislikers thereof in England or elsewhere. And
“ thus desiring your lordships to take this my answer
“ in good part, and to forbear my coming thither in
“ respect of this advantage that may be taken thereof
“ by these wayward persons, I beseech Almighty
“ God long to prosper you.

“ Your good Lordships’ in Christ,

“ JOHN CANTUAR.”

The character of Mr. Beale, who brought the bills.

Who this Mr. Beale was who brought these letters, is worthy our inquiry. I find his Christian name Robert, his office clerk of the council, his abilities very great, as may appear by the public negociations wherein he was employed; for he was joined with sir William Winter, anno 1576, in a commission to the Zealanders, about their reprisals; and again, anno 1583, he was sent to the queen of Scots, sharply to expostulate with her concerning some querulous letters. Well knew queen Elizabeth what tools to use on knotty timber, our author giving Mr. Beale this character, that he was *homo vehemens, et austere acerbus* ^p,—an eager man, and most austere bitter. His affections were wholly presbyterian, and I behold him as one of the best friends (of the second magnitude) that party had. What he wanted in authority,

^p Cumdeni Elizabetha, p 359 [He was a man of more zeal than discretion. He advised Cecil that the parliaments under queen Mary should be declared void, the title of *Supreme Head* having been left out of the summons; which counsel Cecil very wisely rejected. See Burnet, II. 753 He

was also a very bitter enemy to Mary queen of Scots, treating her with much indecent severity, for which he afterwards fell into disgrace He has given some account both of himself and his foreign employments in a letter to the lord treasurer, printed in Strype’s Annals, IV. p 82.]

he had in activity on their sides; and what influence A. D. 1584
 sometimes the hands have on the head (I mean no- 26 Ehz.
 taries on the judges themselves) at council-board,
 others may conjecture. He either compiled or coun-
 tenanced a book made against the bishops; and the
 reader may receive a further confirmation of his
 character herein from the following complaint:

“ To the Lord Treasurer ⁹.

“ My singular good Lord,

“ I have borne much with Mr. Beale’s intempe- Archbishop
 “ rate speeches, unseemly for him to use, though not Whitgift
 “ in respect of myself, yet in respect of her majesty his letter
 “ whom he serveth, and of the laws established, complain-
 “ whereunto he ought to shew some duty. Yester- ing of
 “ day he came to my house, as it seemed to demand Beale’s in-
 “ the book he delivered unto me; I told him that solent car-
 “ the book was written to me, and therefore no riage to-
 “ reason why he should require it again, especially wards him.
 “ seeing I was assured that he had a copy thereof,
 “ otherwise I would cause it to be written out for
 “ him; whereupon he fell into very great passions
 “ with me (which I think was the end of his coming)
 “ for proceeding in the execution of his Articles, &c.,
 “ and told me in effect that I would be the over-
 “ throw of this church, and a cause of tumult, with
 “ many other bitter and hard speeches, which I heard
 “ patiently, and wished him to consider with what
 “ spirit he was moved so to say; for I said it cannot
 “ be by the Spirit of God, because the Spirit of God
 “ worketh in men humility, patience, and love, and

⁹ [A more correct copy of part of this letter will be found
 in Strype’s Whitgift, p 147]

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26 Eliz.

“ your words declare you to be very arrogant, proud,
“ impatient, and uncharitable. Moreover the Spirit
“ of God moveth men to hear the word of God with
“ meekness, &c.; and you have almost heard with
“ disdain every sermon preached before her majesty
“ this Lent, gibing and gesting openly thereat even
“ in the sermon time, to the offence of many, and
“ especially at such sermons as did most commend
“ her majesty and the state, and moved the auditory
“ to obedience; which he confessed and justified,
“ accusing some of the preachers of false doctrine
“ and wrong allegations of scripture, &c. Then he
“ began to extol his book^r, and said we were never
“ able to answer it, neither for the matter of divinity
“ nor yet of law. I told him, as the truth is, that
“ there was no great substance in the book, that it
“ might be very soon answered, and that it did
“ appear neither his divinity nor law to be great.
“ I further wished him to be better advised of his
“ doings, and told him indeed that he was one of the
“ principal causes of the waywardness of divers, be-
“ cause he giveth encouragement to divers of them
“ to stand in the matter, telling them that the Arti-
“ cles shall be shortly revoked by the council, and
“ that my hands shall be stopped, &c.; which saying
“ is spread abroad already in every place, and is the
“ only cause why many forbear to subscribe; which
“ is true, neither could he deny it. All this while I
“ talked with him privately in the upper part of my
“ gallery, my lord of Winchester and divers strangers
“ being in the other part thereof; but Mr. Beale
“ beginning to extend his voice that all might hear,

^r [See an abstract of its contents in Strype's *Whitgift*, p. 143.]

“ I began to break off; then he, being more and ^{A.D. 1584.}
“ more kindled, very impatiently uttered very proud ^{26 Eliz}—
“ and contemptuous speeches in the justifying of his
“ book and condemning of the orders established, to
“ the offence of all the hearers; whereunto (being
“ very desirous to be rid of him) I made small an-
“ swer, but told him that his speeches were intole-
“ rable, that he forgot himself, and that I would
“ complain of him to her majesty; whereof he seemed
“ to make small account, and so he departed in great
“ heat. I am loath to hurt him, or to be an accuser,
“ neither will I proceed therein further than your
“ lordship shall think it convenient; but I never was
“ abused more by any man, at any time in my life,
“ than I have been by him since my coming to this
“ place, in hardness of speech for doing my duty, and
“ for all things belonging to my charge. Surely, my
“ lord, this talk tendeth only to the increasing of the
“ contention, and to the animating of the wayward
“ in their waywardness, casting out dangerous speeches
“ as though there were likelihood of some tumult in
“ respect thereof; whereas in truth, God be thanked,
“ the matter groweth to greater quietness than I
“ think he wisheth, and will be soon quieted if we
“ be let alone, and they not otherwise encouraged.
“ It seemeth he is some way discontented, and would
“ work his anger on me. The tongues of these men
“ taste not of the Spirit of God. Your lordship
“ seeth how bold I am to impart unto you my
“ private causes. Truly if it were not that my con-
“ science is settled in these matters, and that I am
“ fully persuaded of the necessity of these proceed-
“ ings in respect of the peace of the church and due
“ observation of God’s laws, and that I received great

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26 Eliz

“ comfort at her majesty’s hand, (as I did most effectually at my last being at the court,) and that I were assured of your lordship’s constancy in the cause, and of your unmovable good-will towards me, I should be hardly able to endure so great a burden, which now, I thank God, in respect of the premises seemeth easy unto me, neither do I doubt but God will therein prosper me. Thus being desirous to impart this matter to your lordship, to whose consideration I leave it, I commit you to the tuition of Almighty God.

“ [From my house at Lambeth, May 6th, 1584.]

“ JOHN CANTUAR.”

Nor have I aught else to say of this Mr. Beale^s, but that afterwards I find one of his name and quality dying 1601^t, and buried in London, at Allhallows in the Wall, who by all probability should be the same person. Now that the presbyterian party was not unfriended at the council-board, but had those there which (either out of dictates of their conscience, or reasons of state, or reflections on their private interests) endeavoured to mitigate the archbishop’s proceedings against them, let their ensuing letter to him be perused^u:

^s [Strype has given several instances of the vulgar impertinence and conceitedness of this man. See particularly the *Life of Whitgift*, p. 148.]

^t Robert Beale, esq. Stow’s *Survey of London*, p. 183.

^u [This letter was directed to Aylmer, bishop of London, as well as to the archbishop. A more correct copy of it is printed in Strype’s *Whitgift*, p.

166. But in justification of Fuller’s accuracy, it must be observed that in general such letters which he has printed, and which I have had an opportunity of comparing with the originals, are given very exactly; and these letters, which he professes to have extracted from Whitgift’s copy-book, are probably as correctly printed as the rest, although they differ

“ After our hearty commendations to both your
 “ lordships, although we have heard of late times
 “ sundry complaints out of divers countries of this
 “ realm, of some proceedings against a great number
 “ of ecclesiastical persons, some parsons of churches,
 “ some vicars, some curates, but all preachers ; where-
 “ by some were deprived of their livings, some sus-
 “ pended from their ministry and preaching : yet we
 “ have forborne to enter into any particular exami-
 “ nation of such complaints, thinking that howsoever
 “ inferior officers (as chancellors, commissaries, arch-
 “ deacons, and such-like, whose offices are of more
 “ value and profit by such-like kind of proceedings)
 “ might in such sort proceed against the ministers
 “ of the church, yet your lordship, the archbishop
 “ of that province of Canterbury, have besides your
 “ general authority some particular interest in the
 “ present jurisdiction of sundry bishoprics vacant.
 “ And you also, the bishop of London, both for your
 “ own authority in your diocese, and as head com-
 “ missioner ecclesiastical, would have a pastoral [re-
 “ gard] over the particular officers, to stay and tem-
 “ per them in their hasty proceedings against the
 “ ministers, and especially against such as do ear-
 “ nestly profess and instruct the people against the
 “ dangerous sects of papistry ; but yet of late, hear-
 “ ing of the lamentable estate of the church in the
 “ county of Essex, that is, of a great number of
 “ zealous and learned preachers there suspended
 “ from their cures, the vacancy of the places for the

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26 Eliz.

The privy
counsellors’
letter to the
archbishop,
in favour of
the noncon-
formists.

much from Strype’s copies The reason is evident : Strype transcribed the originals which were actually sent to the different persons ; Fuller the rough

drafts ; and such discrepancies are not unusual. See the letters of Fox in the former pages of this History.]

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“ most part, without any ministry of preaching,
“ prayers, and sacraments, and in some places of
“ certain appointed to those void rooms, being per-
“ sons neither of learning nor of good name, and in
“ other places of that county a great number of
“ parsons occupying the cures being notoriously
“ unfit, most for lack of learning, many charged or
“ chargeable with great and enormous faults, as
“ drunkenness, filthiness of life, gaming at cards,
“ haunting of alehouses, and such-like, against whom
“ we hear not of any proceedings, but that they are
“ quietly suffered, to the slander of the church, to
“ the offence of good people, yea to the famishing of
“ them for lack of good teaching, and thereby dan-
“ gerous to the subverting of many weaklings from
“ their duties to God and the queen’s majesty, by
“ secret Jesuits and counterfeit papists; and having
“ thus in a general sort heard out of many parts, of
“ the like, of this lamentable estate of the church, yet
“ to the intent we should not be deceived with the
“ generality of reports, we sought to be informed of
“ some particulars, namely, of some parts of Essex ;
“ and having received the same credibly in writing, we
“ have thought it our duties to her majesty and the
“ realm, for the remedy hereof, without intermeddling
“ ourselves with your jurisdiction ecclesiastical, to
“ make report unto your lordships, as persons that
“ ought most specially to have regard thereto, as
“ we hope you will, and therefore have sent you
“ herewith in writing a catalogue of the names of
“ persons of sundry natures and conditions; that is,
“ one sort, being reported to be learned, zealous,
“ and good preachers, deprived and suspended, and
“ so the cures not served with meet persons; the

“ other sort a number of persons, having cures, being A. D. 1584.
“ in sundry sorts far unmeet for any offices in the 26 Eliz
“ church, for their many defects and imperfections,
“ and so, as it seems by the reports, have been and
“ are suffered to continue without reprehension or
“ any other proceedings against them, and thereby a
“ great number of Christian people untaught, a mat-
“ ter very lamentable in this time ; in a third sort a
“ number having double livings with cure, and so
“ not resident upon their cures, but yet enjoying the
“ benefit of their benefices without any personal
“ attendance upon their cures. Against all these
“ sorts of lewd, evil, unprofitable, and corrupt mem-
“ bers, we hear of no inquisition, nor of any kind of
“ proceeding to the reformation of those horrible
“ offences in the church, but yet of great diligence,
“ yea, and extremity used against those that are
“ known diligent preachers. Now therefore we, for
“ the discharge of our duties, being by our vocation
“ under her majesty bound to be careful that the
“ universal realm may be well governed, to the
“ honour and glory of God, and to the discharge of
“ her majesty, being the principal governor over all
“ her subjects under Almighty God, do most ear-
“ nestly desire your lordships to take some charitable
“ consideration of these causes, that the people of
“ the realm may not be deprived of their pastors,
“ being diligent, learned, and zealous, though in
“ some points ceremonial. they may seem doubtful
“ only in conscience, and not of wilfulness ; nor that
“ their cures be suffered to be vacant without good
“ pastors, nor that such as be placed in the rooms
“ of cures be insufficient for learning or unmeet for
“ their conversation. And though the notes which

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26 Eliz.

“ we send you be only of parsons belonging to Essex,
“ yet we pray you to look into the rest of the coun-
“ try in many other dioceses; for we have and do
“ hear daily of the like in generality in many other
“ places, but we have not sought to have their par-
“ ticulars so manifestly delivered of other places as
“ of Essex, or rather, to say the truth, of one corner
“ of the country. And we shall be most glad to
“ hear of your cares to be taken for remedy of these
“ enormities, so as we be not troubled hereafter, or
“ hear of the like complaints to continue; and so
“ we bid your good lordships right heartily farewell.

“ [Dated from Oatlands, the 20th of September,
“ 1584.]

“ Your Lordships’ loving Friends,

“ WILLIAM BURLEY,

“ GEORGE SHREWSBURY,

“ A. WARWICK,

“ R. LEICESTER,

“ C. HOWARD,

“ I. CROFT,

“ CHRISTOPHER HATTON,

“ FRANCIS WALSINGHAM *.”

* [Upon this letter, which was procured from the privy council by the discontented ministers of Essex, principally through the mediation of some potent courtiers, who conceived that they might best promote their designs upon the church lands by flattering this discontented party, honest Strype makes the following observation: “ This letter of the lords, *so careful for the good estate* of the church, was grounded

“ chiefly, as we see, upon sur-
“ mises which they had taken
“ up from the information and
“ reports of the disaffected
“ faction concerning the great
“ abilities and learning of them-
“ selves, and the ignorance and
“ scandalous lives of the obe-
“ dient and conformable clergy;
“ which, however, was in a
“ great part false and uncha-
“ ritably given out.” The
“ weakness and ignorance of this
“ self-conceited party has been

Amongst these privy counsellors I miss one who ^{A D 1584.}
 was mainly material, namely, sir Francis Knowles, ^{26 Eliz.}
 treasurer of the queen's household, and knight of
 the garter, father-in-law to the earl of Leicester, and
 no less considerable in himself than in his relations.
 This knight being bred a banished man in Germany
 during the reign of queen Mary, and conversing with
 Mr. Calvin at Geneva, was never after fond of epi-
 scopacy, and though now casually absent from the
 council-board, was a great patron of the noncon-
 formists¹. But see the archbishop's answer to their
 letter²:

“ It may please your good lordships to be adver-
 “ tised that I have received your letters of the twen-
 “ tieth of this month^a, with a schedule inclosed therein,
 “ concerning certain ministers in Essex; whereunto
 “ as yet I cannot make any full answer, by reason of
 “ the absence of my lord of London, to whom the
 “ letter is also directed, and the parties therein
 “ named best known as being in his diocese. Never-
 “ theless, in the mean time, I thought it my part to
 “ signify unto your lordships that I hope the infor-
 “ mation to be in most parts unjust. Certain men
 “ being in and about Maldon, because they cannot
 “ have such among them as by disorderliness do
 “ best content their humours, did not long since in
 “ like manner, in a generality, make an information

often enough exposed, but they
 have not ceased to repeat the
 same falsehoods against men
 much wiser and better than
 themselves.]

^y [In confirmation of this
 statement, see his letter to lord

Burghley, full indeed of crude
 notions and bad reasoning.]

^z [A more correct copy of
 this letter will also be found in
 Strype's Whitgift, p 167]

^a [September.]

The arch-
 bishop's an-
 swer to the
 privy coun-
 sellors' let-
 ter.

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26 Eliz.

“ to the same effect, which coming to mine and
“ others’ hands of the ecclesiastical commission, we
“ did direct our letters to some of the principal
“ of them by name, requiring them to exhibit unto
“ us, at the beginning of this next term now next
“ ensuing, the names of such offensive ministers as
“ they thought to be touched with such dishonest
“ conversation, together with their proofs thereof,
“ promising on our parts to see the same redressed
“ accordingly. It seemeth by this which is exhibited
“ now to your lordships they have prevented the
“ time, hoping thereby to alter the course. Where-
“ unto it tendeth, I leave to your lordships’ consider-
“ ation. Surely if the ministers be such as this
“ schedule reporteth, they are worthy to be griev-
“ ously punished ; and, for my own part, I will not
“ be slack or remiss (God willing) therein ; but if
“ that fall out otherwise upon trial, and that they or
“ many of them, in respect of their obedience to
“ her majesty’s laws, be thus depraved by such as
“ impugn the same, then I doubt not but your lord-
“ ship will judge those accusers to deserve just pu-
“ nishment. This I can assure your lordships of,
“ that my lord of London affirmed in my hearing
“ that not long since, upon that occasion that none
“ or few, at his or his archdeacon’s visitations, had
“ at any time by the churchwardens or sworn men
“ been detected or presented for any such misde-
“ meanors as are now supposed against them. Of
“ the preachers which are said to be put there to
“ silence, I know but few ; notwithstanding I know
“ those few to be very factious in the church, con-
“ temners in sundry points of the ecclesiastical laws,
“ and chief authors of disquietness in that part of

“ the country; and such as I, for my part, cannot ^{A.D. 1584.}
 “ (doing my duty with a good conscience) suffer ^{26 Eliz.}
 “ without their further conformity to execute their
 “ ministry. But your lordships (God willing) shall
 “ have a more particular answer to every point of
 “ your letter when my lord of London, who is now
 “ at his house in the country, and I shall meet and
 “ have conferred thereupon. In the mean time I
 “ trust that neither there nor elsewhere within this
 “ province, either by myself or others of my brethren,
 “ any thing is or shall be done which doth not tend
 “ to the peace of the church, the working of obe-
 “ dience to laws established, the encouragement of
 “ the most, the godliest, and most learnedest minis-
 “ ters in this church of England, and to the glory
 “ of God; to whose protection I commit your good
 “ lordships.

[“ Dated from Croydon, September the 27th,
 “ 1584.”]

Now although we find sir Christopher Hatton (for company's sake, as we humbly conceive it) amongst the privy counsellors, subscribing for moderation to nonconformists, yet we take him to be a zealous stickler for the pressing church ceremony; and although I look on the words of the Jesuit as a mere scandal, when he saith that this Hatton was *animo catholicus*, (a papist in his heart ^a,) yet I know him to be no favourer of the presbyterian party, but a great countenancer of Whitgift's proceedings against them, as appears by the following address of the archbishop unto him :

^a Peter Ribadeneira in his Appendix to Sanders, p. 41.

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“To sir Christopher Hatton ^b.

“Right Honourable,

The arch-
bishop's
gratulatory
letter to sir
Christopher
Hatton.

“I give you most hearty thanks for that most
“friendly message which you sent unto me by your
“man, Mr. Kemp. I shall think myself bound unto
“you, therefore, as long as I live. It hath not a
“little comforted me, having received not long since
“unkind speeches where I least looked for them,
“only for doing my duty in the most necessary bu-
“siness which I have in hand ^c. I marvel how it

^b [The principal part of this letter is in Strype's *Whitgift*, p. 224, who has given the date of it to July 16, 1585.]

^c [He refers to lord Burleigh, a censure which that statesman richly deserves, who with his characteristic wiliness was anxious to press conformity for political purposes, though caring very little about it in a religious point of view. Thus while at one time his letters betray an anxiety for having nonconformists punished and brought before the bishops, at other times he requests that they may not be molested; desiring only to shuffle off from his own shoulders and from the government the risk and responsibility of their punishment. It will be sufficient to refer to various papers put forth at this time in proof of this statement. Thus in a proclamation dated Greenwich, Oct. 20, 1573, it is stated “that the queen's majesty, being right sorry to understand that the order of common prayer is now of late

“of some men despised and
“spoken against, both by open
“preachings and writings, and
“of some bold and vain cu-
“rious men, and other rites
“found out and frequented;
“whereupon contentions, sects,
“and disquietness doth arise
“among her people, and for
“one godly and uniform order
“diversity of rites and ceremo-
“nies, disputations and con-
“tentions, schisms and divi-
“sions, [are] already risen:
“the cause of which disorders
“her majesty doth plainly un-
“derstand to be the negligence
“of the bishops and other ma-
“gistrates, who should cause
“the good laws and acts of
“parliament made in this be-
“half to be better executed,
“and not so dissembled and
“winked at.” . . . Upon which
the queen commands them to
put the act of uniformity &c.
in execution “with all dili-
“gence and severity, neither
“favouring nor dissembling
“with one person nor other.”
. . . . They are also to inquire

" should come to pass that the selfsame persons will
 " seem to wish peace and uniformity in the church, A.D. 1584.
26 Eliz.
 " and to mislike of the contentious and disobedient
 " sort, cannot abide that any thing should be done
 " against them, wishing rather the whole ministry of
 " the land to be discountenanced and discouraged,
 " than a few wayward persons (of no account in
 " comparison) suppressed and punished. Men, in
 " executing the laws according to their duties, were
 " wont to be encouraged and backed by such, but
 " now it falleth out clean contrary. Disobedient
 " wilful persons (I will term them no worse) are
 " animated, laws contemned, her majesty's will and

and have such punished as neglect coming to the common prayer &c. "with more care
 " and diligence than heretofore
 " hath been done: the which
 " negligence hath been cause
 " why such disorders have of
 " late now so much and in so
 " many places increased and
 " grown." And in a letter
 from the council, where the
 same things are urged in even
 stronger terms, and the bishops
 are straitly ordered "to take
 " a more vigilant eye to this
 " uniformity . . . and to see
 " that in no one church . . .
 " there be any difformity, &c "

They then proceed to say that
 " nothing is required but that
 " [the] godly and seemly orders
 " allowed by the queen's ma-
 " jesty and the whole realm be
 " kept. The which, except ye
 " did wink at and dissemble,
 " there needed not these new
 " proclamations and straight
 " callings upon." Wilkins'

Conc. IV. 278-9. Indeed the
 very same complaint which is
 here made by Whitgift was
 also made by his predecessor,
 archbishop Parker, (see Strype's
 Parker, 213, 226;) so that the
 remark of Strype is perfectly
 correct, in reference to that
 archbishop, "that he liked not
 " the work, especially being
 " accompanied with so much
 " severity, but it was out of
 " obedience to the queen, who
 " was continually calling upon
 " him, and ordering the secre-
 " tary to write to him to
 " quicken him. But finding
 " his own inability to do her
 " that service she required of
 " him, he very often and ear-
 " nestly sent to the secretary
 " that the queen's council might
 " stand by him with their au-
 " thority. But he could not
 " obtain his desire; thereupon
 " he made a stop in his pro-
 " ceedings." Strype, *ib.* 226.]

A.D. 1584.
26 Eliz

“ pleasure little regarded, and the executors thereof
 “ in word and deed abused. Howbeit these over-
 “ thwarts grieve me, yet I thank God they cannot
 “ withdraw me from doing that duty in this cause
 “ which I am persuaded God Himself, her majesty,
 “ the laws, and the state of this church and com-
 “ monwealth do require of me; in respect whereof I
 “ am content to sustain all these displeasures, and
 “ fully resolved not to depend upon man, but upon
 “ God and her majesty; and therefore your honour,
 “ in offering me that great courtesy, offered unto me
 “ as great a pleasure as I can desire. Her majesty
 “ must be my refuge, and I beseech you that I may
 “ use you as a means when occasion shall serve,
 “ whereof I assure myself, and therein rest.

“ JOHN CANTUAR.”

As for the lord Burleigh, such was his moderation that both parties beheld him as their friend, carrying matters not with passion and prejudice, but prudently, as became so great a statesman. He was neither so rigid as to have conformity pressed to the height, nor so remiss as to leave ministers to their own liberty; he would argue the case, both in discourse and by letters, with the archbishop. Amongst many of the latter kind, let not the reader grudge to peruse this here inserted ^d:

The treasurer's letter to the archbishop for some indulgence to the ministers.

“ It may please your grace, I am sorry to trouble
 “ you so often as I do, but I am more troubled
 “ myself, not only with many private petitions of

^d [This letter is not in lord Burleigh's hand, but in that of his secretary, now among the Lansdowne MSS. in the British Museum, No. 102 (L). It is also printed in Strype's *Whitgift*, Append. p 63. S. Copy in the State Paper Office.]

“ sundry ministers recommended for ¹ persons of A. D. 1584.
26 Eliz.
 “ credit, and ² for peaceable persons in their minis-
 “ try, and yet by complaint to your grace and other
 “ your colleagues in commission greatly troubled;
 “ but also I am daily now ³ charged by counsellors
 “ and public persons to neglect my duty, in not
 “ staying of those your grace’s proceedings, so vehe-
 “ ment and so general against ministers and preach-
 “ ers, as the papists are thereby greatly ⁴ encou-
 “ raged, and ⁵ all evil-disposed persons amongst the ⁶
 “ subjects animated, and thereby the queen’s ma-
 “ jesty’s safety endangered. With these kind of
 “ arguments I am daily assailed; against which I
 “ answer, that I think your grace doth nothing but,
 “ being duly examined, tendeth to the maintenance
 “ of the religion established, and to avoid schisms
 “ in the church. I also have, for example, shewed
 “ by ⁷ your papers sent to me how fully the church
 “ is furnished with preachers, and how small a num-
 “ ber there are that do contend for their singularity.
 “ But these reasons do not satisfy all persons, neither
 “ do I seek to satisfy all persons ⁸, but with reason
 “ and truth. But now, my good lord, by chance I
 “ have come to the sight of an instrument of twenty-
 “ four Articles of great length and curiosity, formed
 “ in a Romish style, to examine all manner of minis-
 “ ters in this time without distinction of persons,
 “ which Articles are intituled *apud Lambeth, Mai*
 “ 1584, to be executed *ex officio mero*, &c. And
 “ upon this occasion I have seen them: I did recom-
 “ mend unto your grace’s favour two ministers,

1 from L. S.
 5 and *om* L. S.
 8 them L. S.

2 and *om* L. S.
 6 persons amongst the *om*. L. S.

3 now daily L. S.

4 generally L.
 7 upon L. S.

A.D. 1584
26 Eliz

“ curates of Cambridgeshire, to be favourably heard,
“ and your grace wrote to me that⁹ they were con-
“ tentious, seditious, and persons vagrant¹⁰, main-
“ taining¹¹ this controversy; wherewith I charged
“ them sharply, and they both denied those¹² charges,
“ and required to be tried, and so to receive punish-
“ ment. I answered that¹³ your grace would so
“ charge them, and then I should see afterwards¹⁴
“ what they should deserve, and advised them to
“ resort to your grace, comforting them that they
“ should find favourable proceedings, and so I hope¹⁵
“ upon my former commendations the rather¹⁶.
“ What may be said to them I know not, nor whe-
“ ther they have been¹⁷ so faulty as your grace hath
“ been informed do I know; neither do I mean to
“ treat for to favour¹⁸ such men, for pardon I may
“ speak upon their amendment. But now, they
“ coming to me, I offer¹⁹ how your grace²⁰ pro-
“ ceeded with them; they say they are commanded
“ to be examined by the register at London, and
“ I asked them whereof. They said of a great²¹
“ number of Articles, but they could have no copies
“ of them. I answered that²² they might answer²³
“ to the²⁴ truth. They said that they²⁵ were so
“ many in number, and so divers, as they were afraid
“ to answer²⁶ them, for fear of captious interpreta-
“ tion. Upon this I sent for²⁷ the register, who
“ brought me the Articles, which I have read, and
“ find so curiously penned, so full of branches and

9 that *om* L 10 vagrant persons S. 11 to maintain L S 12 these S.
13 I thought L S 14 afterwards see L S 15 hoped the rather L S.
16 the rather *om* L S 17 be L S. 18 entreat your lordship favour to L.
entreat for favour for such S. 19 and I asking of them L. and I asking
them S. 20 hath L S. 21 great *om* L 22 then L S. 23 ac-
cording L S. 24 the *om* L S. 25 there L. they S 26 to L.
unto S. 27 to S.

“ circumstances, that ²⁸ I think the inquisitions ²⁹ of A. D. 1584.
 “ Spain use not so many questions to comprehend ²⁶ Eliz.
 “ and to entrap ³⁰ their ³¹ preys. I know your ca-
 “ nonists can defend these with all their particles,
 “ but surely under your grace’s correction this judi-
 “ cial and canonical siftner ³² of poor ministers is
 “ not to edify and ³³ reform; and in charity I think
 “ they ought not to answer to all these nice points,
 “ except they were very notorious offenders in pa-
 “ pistry or heresy. Now, good my ³⁴ lord, bear with
 “ my scribbling: I write with ³⁵ testimony of a good
 “ conscience; I desire the peace of the church, I
 “ desire concord ³⁶, and unity in the exercise of
 “ our ³⁷ religion; I fear ³⁸ no sensual and ³⁹ wilful
 “ recusant; but I conclude that, according to my
 “ simple judgment, this kind of proceeding is too
 “ much favouring ⁴⁰ the Romish inquisition, and is
 “ rather a device to seek for offenders than to reform
 “ any. This was ⁴¹ not that charitable instruction
 “ that I thought was intended of ⁴² these poor minis-
 “ ters should in some few points have any scrupu-
 “ lous conceptions ⁴³ to be removed, this is not a
 “ charitable way, to send them to answer to your
 “ common register, upon so many Articles at one
 “ instant, without ⁴⁴ commodity of instruction by your
 “ register, whose office is only to receive their an-
 “ swers, by which the parties are first ⁴⁵ subject to
 “ condemnation before they be taught their errors:
 “ it may be, I say, that ⁴⁶ canonists may maintain this
 “ proceeding by rules of their laws, but though

28 as L. S. 29 inquisitors L. S. 30 trap L. 31 and trap their S.
 32 sifting L. S. 33 or L. S. 34 my good L. 35 a L. S. 36 I
 desire concord om S. 37 our om S. 38 favour L. S. 39 or S.
 40 of L. S. 41 is L. S. 42 if L. S. 43 meet L. S. 44 any L.
 45 made S 46 be, as I said, the L. S.

A D. 1584. ²⁶ Eliz. “ *omnia licent,* ⁴⁷ *omnia non expediunt.* I pray your
 “ grace bear this, (and perchance a fault ⁴⁸,) that I
 “ have willed them not to answer these Articles,
 “ except their consciences may suffer them; and yet
 “ I have sharply admonished them, that if they be
 “ disturbers in their churches they must be corrected;
 “ and yet, upon your grace’s answer to me ⁴⁹, *ne sutor*
 “ *ultra crepidam*, neither will I put *falcem in alte-*
 “ *rius* ⁵⁰ *messem.* My paper teacheth me to make
 “ an ⁵¹ end. Your grace must pardon my hasty
 “ writing, for that ⁵² I have done this *raptim* and
 “ without correction. ⁵³

“ Your Grace’s, at command,

[1 July, 1584.]

“ WILLIAM BURGHLEY.”

One may say, is not the hand of Mr. Travers in all this? who, being the lord Burghley’s chaplain, by him much respected, and highly affected to the Geneva discipline, was made the mouth of the ministers, to mediate to his lord in their behalf. But it seems the archbishop had set up his resolution, (called constancy by some, cruelty by others, as they stand affected,) whose unmovableness herein will appear by his following letter :

“ To the Lord Treasurer ^e

“ My singular good Lord,

The return
of the arch-
bishop of
Cantebury
to the lord
treasurer’s
letter.

“ In the very beginning of this action, and so
 “ from time to time, I have made your lordship

⁴⁷ yet L ⁴⁸ one (perchance a) fault L S ⁴⁹ I will leave them to
 your authority, as becometh me L S. ⁵⁰ *alienum* S. ⁵¹ make an
 om L S. ⁵² that om. L ⁵³ 1 July, 1584.

^e [Lansd. MS. No 42, orig. See Strype’s Whitgift, App p. 64.]

“acquainted with all my doings, and so answered all ^{A D 1584.}
 “objections and reasons to the contrary, as I per- ^{26 Eliz.}
 “suade myself¹ no just reply can be made there-
 “unto. I have likewise, by your lordship’s advice,
 “chosen this kind of proceeding with them, because
 “I would not touch any for not subscribing only,
 “but for breach of order in celebrating of² divine
 “service, administering the sacraments, and execut-
 “ing other ecclesiastical functions, according to their
 “fancies, and not according to the form of³ law
 “prescribed, which neither your lordship nor any
 “other⁴ seemed to mislike, but to wish and require;
 “and therefore I am much troubled at your last
 “letters, which seem so to be written as though
 “your lordship had not been in these points already
 “answered⁵. The complaints which your lordship
 “saith are made of me, and⁶ other my colleagues,
 “have hitherto been⁷ general, and therefore cannot
 “otherwise be answered but⁸ by a bare denial; but
 “if any man shall charge me or them with parti-
 “cularities, I doubt not but we are and shall be
 “ready to answer them, and to justify our doings.
 “My proceedings are neither so vehement nor so
 “general against ministers and preachers as some
 “pretend, doing me therein great injury;⁹ I have
 “divers¹⁰ times satisfied your lordship therein. If
 “any offence be,¹¹ it is in bearing too much with
 “them, and¹² using of them so friendly¹³, which
 “causeth them thus, contrary to their duty, to trou-
 “ble the church, and to withstand me their ordi-

¹ that L ² of om L ³ by L ⁴ others L ⁵ and satis-
 fied L. ⁶ of L. ⁷ been hitherto L. ⁸ than L. ⁹ and L.
¹⁰ sundry L. ¹¹ If I have any way offended L ¹² in L. ¹³ too
 familiarly L

A.D. 1584
26 Ehz.

“ nary and lawful judge. The objection of encour-
 “ raging the papists &c. hath neither probability nor
 “ likelihood; for how can papists be animated by
 “ urging of men to subscribe against the pope’s
 “ supremacy? and ¹⁴ to the justifying of the Book of
 “ Common Prayers, and ¹⁵ Articles of Religion, ¹⁶
 “ which they so greatly condemn? But ¹⁷ papists
 “ &c. are animated because they see these kind of
 “ persons (which herein after a sort come in ¹⁸ with
 “ them) so greatly ¹⁹ so many borne with, and so
 “ animated and maintained ²⁰ in their disordered
 “ doings, against both God’s laws and man’s ²¹, and
 “ against their chief governors, both ²² civil and
 “ ecclesiastical. This, I say, encourageth the papists,
 “ and maketh much for them ²³; the other is but a
 “ fallacy ²⁴, *a non causa ad causam*. O my lord,
 “ I ²⁵ would to God some of those ²⁶ who use this
 “ argument had no papists in their families, and
 “ did not otherwise also countenance them; whereby
 “ indeed they receive encouragement, [and do be-
 “ come too malapert. ²⁷] Assure yourself ²⁸ the
 “ papists are rather grieved at my proceedings ²⁹,
 “ because they tend to the taking away of their
 “ chief argument; that is, that we cannot agree
 “ among ourselves, and that we are not of the
 “ church, because we lack unity ³⁰. And I am cre-
 “ dibly informed that the papists give encourage-
 “ ment to these men, and commend them in their
 “ doings, whereof I have also some experience. But

¹⁴ or L. ¹⁵ of the L. ¹⁶ both L. ¹⁷ indeed L. ¹⁸ join L. ¹⁹ friend-
 ed L. ²⁰ and maintained *om.* L. ²¹ law L. ²² both *om.* L. ²³ them so
 malapert L. *cor* ²⁴ fallax L. ²⁵ I *om.* L. ²⁶ them L. ²⁷ [] *crossed*
out in L. ²⁸ that L. ²⁹ doings L. ³⁰ lack unity, and therefore
 are not of the church L.

“ if these reasons and sundry others, notwithstanding- A. D. 1584.
 “ ing some will not be satisfied thereby³¹, I am sure 26 Eliz
 “ your lordship thinketh it not³² convenient to yield
 “ unto³³ their wills, but unto their reasons³⁴. Touch-
 “ ing the twenty-four Articles, which your lordship
 “ seemeth so³⁵ to mislike, as written in a Romish
 “ style, smelling of a³⁶ Romish inquisition, I cannot
 “ but greatly marvel at your lordship’s vehement
 “ speeches against them, I hope without cause.
 “³⁷ [The men are preachers, peaceable, your lordship
 “ saith, and that they are orderly, and observe the
 “ books, as some of them say of themselves; and
 “ you think it not meet that, being such persons,
 “ they should be deprived for not subscribing only,
 “ wherein I have yielded unto you,³⁸ and therefore
 “ have caused these Articles to be drawn according
 “ to law, by the best learned in the laws, who I
 “ dare say hate the Romish doctrine and the Romish
 “ inquisition, to the intent I may truly understand
 “ whether they are such manner of men or no as
 “ they pretend to be, which I also take to be]³⁹
 “ the ordinary course in other courts⁴⁰; as in the
 “ Star-chamber,⁴¹ and other places. [Sure I am it
 “ is most usual in the Court of the Marches,
 “ (Arches rather,) whereof I have the best expe-
 “ rience.] And without offence be it spoken, I
 “ think these Articles⁴² more tolerable, and better
 “ agreeing with the rule of justice and charity, and

31 will not satisfy some L. 32 will not think it L. 33 unto om. L.
 34 without reason L. 35 much L. 36 the L. 37 *Verba inter []*
posita om. L. 38 I do minister these articles unto them, framed by the
 best learned in the laws, (who I dare say hate both the Romish doctrine and
 Romish inquisition,) to the intent that I may truly understand whether they
 are such manner of men or no as they pretend to be, especially seeing by
 public fame they are noted of the contrary, and one of them presented L.
 39 that is L. 40 likewise L. 41 the court of the Marches L. 42 to
 be L

A D. 1584.
26 Eliz.

“ less captious than those in other courts, because
 “ there men are ⁴³ often ⁴⁴ examined at the relation
 “ of a private man, concerning private crimes, *et de*
 “ *propria turpitudine*; whereas here men are only
 “ examined of their public actions in the ⁴⁵ public
 “ calling and ministry, ⁴⁶ and much more ⁴⁷ in the
 “ case of heresy; because the one toucheth life,
 “ and ⁴⁸ the other not. And therefore I see no
 “ cause why our judicial and canonical proceedings
 “ in this point should be misliked. Your lordship
 “ writeth, that the two for whom you write ⁴⁹ are
 “ peaceable persons, ⁵⁰ that they ⁵¹ deny the things
 “ wherewith they are charged, and desire to be tried.
 “ Now they are to be tried, why do they refuse it?
 “ *Qui male agit, odit lucem*. [Indeed they shew
 “ themselves to be such as I have before shewed to
 “ your lordship, the most troublesome persons in all
 “ that country; and one of them, Mr. Brown, is
 “ presented] for his disorders ⁵² by the sworn men
 “ of the ⁵³ parish ⁵⁴, as I am informed by the official
 “ there. Wherefore ⁵⁵ I beseech your lordship not
 “ to believe them against me, either ⁵⁶ own words,
 “ or ⁵⁷ testimony of any ⁵⁸ such as animate them
 “ in their disobedience, and count disorder order,
 “ and contention peace, before they be duly and
 “ orderly tried according to that law which is yet in
 “ force, and in my opinion will hardly in these judi-
 “ cial actions be bettered, though some abuse may

43 men are there L. 44 times L. 45 their L. 46 whereunto in
 conscience they are bound to answer L. 47 then L. 48 and om L.
 49 speak L. 50 observe the book L. 51 persons, that they om L.
 52 for his disorders om L. 53 his L. 54 for his disorders L. 55 I
 have written nothing to your lordship of them which their own behaviour
 doth not prove to be true Therefore L. 56 upon their L. 57 upon
 the L. 58 any om L.

“ be in the execution thereof, as there⁵⁹, I else-A. D. 1584.
26 Eliz.
 “ where also⁶⁰, and that peradventure more abund-
 “ antly. Your lordship saith⁶¹ these Articles are
 “ a device⁶² rather to seek for offenders than to
 “ reform any: the like may be said of the like
 “ orders in other courts also; but that were⁶³ the
 “ fault of the judge, not of the law. And I trust
 “ your lordship hath no cause to think so evil of
 “ me: I have not dealt as yet with any but such
 “ as have⁶⁴ given evident⁶⁵ tokens of contempt of
 “ orders and laws, which⁶⁶ my acts remaining on⁶⁷
 “ record will testify⁶⁸; and though⁶⁹ the register
 “ do⁷⁰ examine them, (as I think⁷¹ other officers
 “ do in other courts likewise, and the law doth
 “ allow of it,) yet are they repeated before a judge,
 “ where they may reform, add, or diminish, as they
 “ think good; neither hath there⁷² any man thus
 “ been examined, or otherwise dealt with,⁷³ who
 “ hath not⁷⁴ been conferred with, or might not have
 “ been if he would,⁷⁵ these two especially⁷⁶; and
 “ if they have⁷⁷ otherwise reported⁷⁸ to your lord-
 “ ship, they do but⁷⁹ *antiquum obtinere*⁸⁰, which is
 “ to utter untruths⁸¹, a quality wherewith these kind
 “ of men are⁸² marvellously possessed, as I on⁸³ my
 “ own knowledge and experience can justify against
 “ divers of them. I know your lordship desireth
 “ the peace of the church and unity in religion⁸⁴,
 “ but how is it possible to be procured, after so long

59 is in other courts likewise L. 60 I elsewhere also om. L. 61 that L.
 62 devised L. 63 should be L. 64 refused to subscribe, and L. 65 ma-
 nifest L. 66 which om. L. 67 in L. 68 with me L. 69 although L.
 70 doth L. 71 I think om. L. 72 there om. L. 73 or otherwise dealt
 with om. L. 74 before L. 75 or might not have been if he would om. L.
 76 even until they had nothing to say L. 77 have om. L. 78 report L.
 79 they do but om. L. 80 *obtinere* L. 81 and they report untruly L.
 82 this sort is L. 83 myself of L. 84 and unity in religion om. L.

A. D. 1584. 26 Eliz. “liberty and⁸⁵ lack of discipline, if a few persons
 “so meanly qualified as most of them are shall be
 “countenanced against the whole state of the clergy,
 “of greatest account both⁸⁶ for learning, years,
 “staydness⁸⁷, wisdom, religion, and honesty? and
 “open breakers and impugnors of the laws, young
 “in years, proud in conceit, contentious in dispo-
 “sition, maintained against their⁸⁸ governors, seek-
 “ing to reduce them to order and⁸⁹ obedience?
 “*Hæc sunt initia hæreticorum, et ortus atque cona-
 tus schismaticorum male cogitantium, ut sibi pla-
 ceant, ut præpositum superbo tumore contemnant;
 sic ab⁹⁰ ecclesia receditur, sic altare profanum col-
 locatur foris⁹¹, sic contra pacem Christi et ordina-
 tionem atque unitatem Dei rebellatur* &c. For my
 “own part, I neither have done nor do⁹² any thing
 “in this matter which I do not think⁹³ in my⁹⁴
 “conscience and duty I am⁹⁵ bound to do, which
 “her majesty hath⁹⁶ with earnest charge committed
 “unto me, and⁹⁷ which I am not⁹⁸ well able to
 “justify to be most requisite for this state and
 “church, whereof next to her majesty, though most
 “unworthy, or at¹⁰⁰ least most unhappy, the chief¹⁰¹
 “is committed unto me, which I will¹⁰² not, by the
 “grace of God¹⁰³, neglect, whatsoever come upon
 “me. Therefore I neither care for¹⁰⁴ the honour of
 “the place, (which is *onus* to me¹⁰⁵), nor the large-
 “ness of the revenues¹⁰⁶, nor any other worldly

85 the L. 86 both *om.* L. 87 steadiness L. 88 superiors and L.
 89 to L. 90 *de* L. 91 *foris collocatus* L. 92 neither do nor have
 done L. 93 myself L. 94 my *om.* L. 95 I am *om.* L. 96 not L.
 97 the L. 98 in L. *correctum.* 100 the L. 101 care L. 102 may L.
 103 by the grace of God *om.* L. 104 esteem L. 105 to me *graviss.*
onus L. 106 for the which I am not as yet one penny the richer L.

“ thing. I thank God, in ¹⁰⁷ respect of doing my A. D. 1584
 “ duty, neither do I fear the displeasure of man nor 26 Eliz.
 “ the evil ¹⁰⁸ tongues of the uncharitable, who call
 “ me tyrant, pope ¹⁰⁹, knave, and lay to my charge
 “ things which I never ¹¹⁰ thought ¹¹¹. *Scio hoc*
 “ *enim* ¹¹² *esse opus diaboli, ut servos Dei mendacio*
 “ *laceret, et opinionibus falsis gloriosum nomen in-*
 “ *famet, ut qui conscientie suae luce clarescunt, alienis*
 “ *rumoribus sordidentur* ^h. So was Cyprian himself
 “ used ¹¹³, and other ancient and ¹¹⁴ godly bishops,
 “ to whom I am not comparable. The day will
 “ come when all men’s hearts shall be opened ¹¹⁵;
 “ in the mean time I will depend on ¹¹⁶ Him ¹¹⁷ who
 “ never forsakes ¹¹⁸ those that put their ¹¹⁹ trust in
 “ Him. If your lordship shall ¹²⁰ keep those two
 “ from answering according to the order set down,
 “ it will be of itself a setting at liberty of all the
 “ rest, and of ¹²¹ undoing of all that which hitherto
 “ hath been done; neither shall I be able to do my
 “ duty according to her majesty’s expectation ¹²²;
 “ and therefore I beseech your lordship to leave
 “ them unto me. I will not proceed ¹²³ against
 “ them till ¹²⁴ I have made you ¹²⁵ privy to their
 “ answers, and further conferred with you about
 “ them ¹²⁶, because I see your lordship so earnest in
 “ their behalf; whereof they have also made public

¹⁰⁷ the L. ¹⁰⁸ regard the wicked L ¹⁰⁹ papist L ¹¹⁰ did nor
¹¹¹ upon L ¹¹² *enim om* L ¹¹³ for the same causes L. ¹¹⁴ ancient
 and *om* L ¹¹⁵ and made manifest L. ¹¹⁶ upon L. ¹¹⁷ who hath
 called me to this place L ¹¹⁸ and will not forsake L. ¹¹⁹ put their
om. L ¹²⁰ do L ¹²¹ of *om* L. ¹²² that which her majesty
 expecteth at my hands, and is now in very good towardness L. ¹²³ to any
 sentence L ¹²⁴ until L. ¹²⁵ your lordship L. ¹²⁶ thereof L

^h [Cypri. Epist. li. 4. L. in m.]

A.D. 1584. 26 Eliz “boasts, as I am informed, which argueth what
 “manner of persons¹²⁷ they are. I beseech¹²⁸ your
 “lordship to take not only the length, but also the
 “matter of this letter in good part, and to continue
 “to¹²⁹ me as you have¹³⁰ done, whereof I doubt
 “not¹³¹; for assuredly if you¹³² forsake me, which
 “I know you will not after so long trial and expe-
 “rience, with continuance of so great friendship¹³³,
 “especially¹³⁴ in so good a cause¹³⁵, I shall think
 “my coming to this place to have been for my
 “punishment, and¹³⁶ my hap¹³⁷ very hard, that
 “when I think¹³⁸ to deserve best, [and in a manner
 “to consume myself, to satisfy that which God, her
 “majesty, the church, requireth of me,] should be
 “so evil¹³⁹ rewarded. *Sed spero meliora*. And I
 “know your lordship doth all, as you are persuaded,
 “for the best. I beseech God long to bless and
 “preserve you¹⁴⁰.

“JOHN CANTUAR.”¹⁴¹

It seems the lord treasurer took exceptions at some passages herein; I dare not say with those that the letter was brought to him when he was indisposed with the fit of the gout, which made him so offended. But whatsoever was the cause of his passion, see some signs thereof in what followeth¹:

127 of what disposition L 128 heartily pray L. 129 unto L
 130 hitherto L 131 whereof I doubt not om. L. 132 now L.
 133 which I know you will not after so long trial and experience, with con-
 tinuance of so great friendship om. L 134 and that L 135 as I know
 you will not L. 136 my coming to this place to have been for my punish-
 ment, and om. L. 137 to be L 138 hope L. 139 I should be worst L.
 140 and commit myself to the Author of peace, whom I beseech to bless
 and prosper your lordship From Croydon, the 3rd of July, 1584 L. 141 To
 your lordship's most bound L.

¹ [See Strype's Whitgift, p 160.]

“ I have received your grace’s long letter, answer-
 “ ing sundry speeches, as I think, delivered by your A.D. 1584.
26 Eliz.
 “ chaplain, Dr. Cosins; and I perceive you are The lord
treasurer’s
 “ sharply moved to blame me and clear yourself. I smart letter
to the arch-
bishop.
 “ know I have many faults, but I hope I have not
 “ given such cause of offence as your letter ex-
 “ presseth. I deny nothing that your grace thinketh
 “ meet to proceed in with these whom you call
 “ factious; and therefore there is no controversy
 “ between you and me, expressed in your letter.
 “ The controversy is passed, in your grace’s letter,
 “ in silence; and so I do satisfy. Your grace pro-
 “ mised me to deal, I say, only with such as violated
 “ order, and to charge them therewith, which I allow
 “ well of; but your grace, not charging them with
 “ such faults, seeketh by examination to urge them
 “ to accuse themselves; and then I think you will
 “ punish them. I think your grace’s proceeding is,
 “ I will not say rigorous or captious, but I think it
 “ is scant charitable. I have no leisure to write
 “ more, and therefore I will end; for writing will
 “ but increase offence, and I mean not to offend
 “ your grace. I am content that your grace and
 “ my lord of London (where I hear Brayne^j is) use
 “ him as your wisdoms shall think meet. If I had
 “ known his fault, I might be blamed for writing
 “ for him; but when by examination only it is meant
 “ to sift him with twenty-four Articles, I have cause
 “ to pity the poor man.

“ Your Grace’s, as friendly as any,

“ WILLIAM BURLEIGH.”

^j [See Edward Brayne’s letter to secretary Burleigh, dated 6th July, 1584, in the Lansdowne MSS. 102, art. 112.]

A. D. 1584.
26 Eliz.

Short, but sharp. I see, though anger only *resteth* *in the bosom of fools*^k, it may light on the breast of a wise man. But no fear that these friends will finally fall out, who alternately were passionate and patient; so that now it came to the turn of Whitgift to be calm, as he expressed himself in the following return¹:

“ To the Lord Treasurer.

“ My singular good Lord,

The arch-
bishop's
calm letter
to the half-
angry trea-
surer.

“ God knoweth how desirous I have been, from
“ time to time, to satisfy your lordship in all things,
“ and to have my doings approved to¹ you; for
“ which cause, since my coming to this place, I have
“ done² nothing of importance without your advice.
“ I have risen early and sat up late, to write unto
“ you such objections and answers as were³ used on
“ either side; I have not⁴ the like to any man: and
“ shall I now say⁵ I have lost my labour? or shall
“ my just dealing with two of the most disordered
“ ministers in a whole diocese (the obstinacy and
“ contempt of whom, especially of one of them,
“ you⁶ yourself would not bear in any subjected
“ to your authority) cause you so to think and speak
“ of my doings, yea⁷, and of myself? No man
“ living should have made me believe it. Solomon
“ saith⁸, an old friend is better than a new; and I
“ trust your lordship will not so lightly cast off your
“ old friends for any of these newfangled and fac-
“ tious sectaries, whose fruits are⁹ to make divi-

1 by L. 2 did L. 3 are L. 4 done L. 5 that L. 6 you
om. L. 7 yea om. L. 8 my lord L. 9 endeavour is L.

^k Eccles. vii. 9.

¹ [See Strype's Whitgift, App. p. 67.]

" sion wheresoever they come, and to ¹⁰ separate A.D. 1584.
26 Eliz.
 " old and assured friends. Your lordship seemeth
 " to charge me with breach of promise, touching my
 " manner of proceeding, whereof I am no way guilty;
 " but I have altered my first course of depriving ¹¹
 " them for not subscribing only, justifiable by the ¹²
 " law, and ¹³ common practice both ¹⁴ in the time
 " of king Edward and from the beginning of her
 " majesty's reign ¹⁵, and chosen this, only to satisfy
 " your lordship. Your lordship also objecteth ¹⁶, that
 " it is said I took this course for the better main-
 " tenance of my book ¹⁷: my enemies say so indeed,
 " but I trust ¹⁸ my friends have a better opinion of
 " me. What ¹⁹ should I seek for any ²⁰ confirmation
 " of my book, after twelve ²¹ years, or what should
 " I get thereby more than already ²²? And yet, if
 " subscription may confirm it, it is confirmed long
 " ago by the subscription ²³ of all the clergy al-
 " most ²⁴ of in ²⁵ England, before my time, even of
 " Brain also, who now seemeth to be so wilful ²⁶.
 " Mine enemies and ²⁷ tongues of this slanderous
 " and ²⁸ uncharitable sect report ²⁹ that I am revolted
 " and ³⁰ become a papist, and I know not what;
 " but it proceedeth from their lewdness, not from
 " any desert of mine ³¹; and I disdain to answer to
 " any ³² such notorious untruths, which not the
 " best of them dare avouch to my face. Your lord-
 " ship further seemeth to burden me with wilful-

10 to om L. 11 dealing with L 12 the om. L. 13 in L.
 14 both om L. 15 to this day L 16 you also object L. 17 against
 Cartwright L. 18 hope L. 19 Why L. 20 such L. 21 so many L.
 22 I have L. 23 almost L. 24 almost om L. 25 of L. 26 and
 of many of these who now refuse, even of Brain himself L. 27 the evil L.
 28 slanderous and om. L. 29 also L. 30 and om L. 31 that un-
 godly zeal which cometh not *ex amore sed ex livore*, wherewith they are pos-
 sessed L. 32 any om. L.

A. D. 1584. ²⁶ *Ehz* — “ness: I am sure that ³³ you are not so persuaded
 “ of me; I will ³⁴ appeal ³⁵ to your own conscience.
 “ There is ³⁶ difference betwixt wilfulness and con-
 “ stancy. I have taken upon me the defence of
 “ the religion and rights ³⁷ of the ³⁸ church of
 “ England ³⁹ ⁴⁰ to appease ⁴¹ the sects of ⁴² schisms
 “ therein, and to reduce all ⁴³ the ministers thereof
 “ to uniformity and due obedience. Herein I in-
 “ tend to be constant, and not to waver with every
 “ wind; the ⁴⁴ which also my place, my person, my
 “ duty, the laws, her majesty, and the goodness of
 “ the cause doth require ⁴⁵ of me; and wherein your
 “ lordship and others (all things considered) ought
 “ in duty to assist and countenance ⁴⁶ me. It is ⁴⁷
 “ strange that a man in my place, dealing by so good
 “ warranties as I do, should be so encountered ⁴⁸, and
 “ for not yielding to ⁴⁹ be counted wilful. But I
 “ must be contented ⁵⁰, *vincit qui patitur*; and if
 “ my friends forsake me herein ⁵¹, I trust God will
 “ not, neither the law ⁵², nor her majesty who
 “ hath ⁵³ laid the charge on me, and are able to
 “ protect me ⁵⁴. But of all other things it most
 “ grieveth me, if ⁵⁵ your lordship should say that ⁵⁶
 “ two ministers should fare the worse because your
 “ lordship hath ⁵⁷ sent them. Hath ⁵⁸ your lordship
 “ ever had ⁵⁹ any cause so to think of me? It is
 “ needless for me to protest my ⁶⁰ heart and affection
 “ towards you above all other men: the world

³³ think L. ³⁴ will *om.* L. ³⁵ therein L. ³⁶ a L. ³⁷ rites L.
³⁸ this L. ³⁹ of England *om.* L. ⁴⁰ the execution of the laws con-
 cerning the same L. ⁴¹ the appeasing of L. ⁴² and L. ⁴³ the
 reducing of L. ⁴⁴ and not to waver with every wind; the *om.* L. ⁴⁵ re-
 quireth L. ⁴⁶ , as I take it, to assist and help L. ⁴⁷ more than L.
⁴⁸ hardly used L. ⁴⁹ to *om.* L. ⁵⁰ I must be contented *om.* L.
⁵¹ herein forsake me L. ⁵² neither the law *om.* L. ⁵³ *cor* “have”
in L. ⁵⁴ upon whom only I will depend L. ⁵⁵ that L. ⁵⁶ the L.
⁵⁷ you L. ⁵⁸ And L. ⁵⁹ had *om.* L. ⁶⁰ good L.

“ knoweth it, and I am assured that your lordship A. D. 1584.
 “ nothing ⁶¹ doubteth ⁶² thereof. I have rather cause 26 Eliz.
 “ to complain to your lordship of yourself, that
 “ upon so small an ⁶³ occasion, and in the behalf
 “ of two such ⁶⁴, you will so hardly conceive of me,
 “ yea ⁶⁵, and as it were countenance persons so
 “ meanly qualified in so evil a cause against me,
 “ their ordinary, and your lordship’s so ⁶⁶ long tried
 “ friend. That ⁶⁷ hath not been so in times past, ⁶⁸
 “ now it should be least of all, [I may not suffer
 “ the notorious contempt of one of them especially,
 “ unless I will become Æsop’s block, and undo all
 “ that which hitherto have been done. Well] ⁶⁹
 “ because I would be loath ⁷⁰ to omit any thing
 “ whereby your lordship ⁷¹ might be satisfied, I have
 “ sent unto you herein ⁷² inclosed certain reasons to
 “ justify the manner of my proceedings, which I
 “ marvel should be so ⁷³ misliked in this cause, hav-
 “ ing been so long practised ⁷⁴ in the same, and
 “ never before this time found fault with. Truly,
 “ my lord, ⁷⁵ I must ⁷⁶ proceed this way, or not at
 “ all: the reasons I have ⁷⁷ set down in this paper;
 “ and ⁷⁸ I heartily pray your lordship ⁷⁹ not to be
 “ carried away either from the cause or from myself
 “ upon unjust surmises and ⁸⁰ clamours, lest ⁸¹ you
 “ be the ⁸² occasion of that confusion which here-
 “ after you would ⁸³ be sorry for. For mine own
 “ part, I ⁸⁴ desire no ⁸⁵ further defence in these

61 nothing *om.* L. 62 not L. 63 an *om.* L. 64 and in the behalf of
 two such *om.* L. 65 yea *om.* L. 66 so *om.* L. 67 It L. 68 and L.
 69 but L. 70 to leave your lordship unsatisfied or L. 71 you L.
 72 here L. 73 much L. 74 in the like, yea, and L. 75 my lord
om. L. 76 either L. 77 are L. 78 now, my singular good lord, L.
 79 you L. 80 or L. 81 thereby L. 82 some L. 83 will L.
 84 am determined to do my duty and conscience without fear, neither will I
 therein L. 85 no *om.* L.

A. D. 1584. 26 Eliz
 “ occasions, neither of your lordship nor any other ⁸⁶,
 “ than justice and law will yield unto me. In my
 “ own ⁸⁷ private affairs I know ⁸⁸ I shall stand in
 “ need of friends, especially of your lordship, of
 “ whom I have made always an assured account ⁸⁹;
 “ but in these public actions I see no cause why I
 “ should seek for ⁹⁰ friends, seeing they to whom
 “ the care of the commonwealth is committed ought
 “ of duty ⁹¹ therein to join with me. To conclude,
 “ I am your lordship’s ⁹² assured; neither will I ever
 “ be persuaded but you do all even of hearty good-
 “ will towards me ⁹³.

“ [From Croydon, the 15th of July, 1584.

“ To your Lordship, most bound,] ⁹⁴

“ JOHN CANTUAR.”

Sir Francis
 Walsing-
 ham a good
 friend to
 noncon-
 formists

Now, amongst all the favourers of the presbyte-
 rians, surely honesty and wisdom never met more
 in any than in sir Francis Walsingham, of whom it
 may be said, (abate for the disproportion,) as of St.
 Paul, *though poor, yet making many rich*. Having
 but one only daughter, (whose extraordinary hand-
 someness, with a moderate portion, would consider-
 ably prefer her in marriage ¹,) he neglected wealth
 in himself, though I may say he enriched many, not
 only his dependents, but even the English nation,

86 of any of my friends L. 87 own om. L. 88 how greatly L.
 89 myself sure L. 90 for om L. 91 of duty om. L. 92 most L.
 93 neither do I doubt of the continuance of your good affection towards me,
 which I heartily desire, as God himself knoweth, to whose tuition I commit
 you. L. 94 From L., omitted in Fuller’s copy.

¹ [She was first married to singham died so poor that he
 the celebrated sir Philip Sid- was privately buried, to prevent
 ney, and afterwards the un- his creditors from seizing his
 fortunate earl of Essex. Wal- body.]

by his prudent steering of state affairs. How he A. D. 1584.
26 Eliz. interceded to qualify the archbishop for a semi-nonconformist, we learn from his following letter^k:

“ It may please your grace to understand that this Sir Francis Walsingham's letter to the archbishop in favour of nonconformists
 “ bearer, Mr. Leverwood, of whom I wrote unto
 “ your grace, hath been here with me; and finding
 “ him very conformable, and willing to observe such
 “ orders as are appointed to be used in the church,
 “ as your grace shall partly perceive by certain arti-
 “ cles subscribed with his own hand, and herein
 “ enclosed, I willed him to repair unto your grace;
 “ and in case these articles may be allowed, then
 “ I pray your grace to be his good lord, and that
 “ with your good-will and favour he may proceed in
 “ his suit^l: upon knowledge whereof I do mean to
 “ deal further therein with her majesty thereof for
 “ him, as I have already begun to do, upon the good
 “ report I heard of the man, before your grace's
 “ message sent to Mr. Nicasius for the stay thereof.
 “ And so I humbly take my leave.

“ Your Grace's, at command,

“ FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.”

What this letter effected, the next will inform us.

^k [Of the subject of this and the subsequent letter, see Strype's Whitgift, p. 226. He has printed the name Lever Wood throughout, and refers both letters to the year 1585.]

^l [The favour which Walsingham shewed to the puritans gives a great value to his repre-

sentation of the character and motives of those turbulent men. The severest censures ever passed upon them will be found in Walsingham's own letter to monsieur Critoy, in Burnet's Hist of the Reformation, II. p. 837.]

A. D. 1584.
26 Eliz.

“ Right Honourable,

The arch-
bishop's
answer to
secretary
Walsing-
ham's let-
ter.

“ I thank you heartily for your letter, written
“ unto me in the behalf of Leverwood, wherein I per-
“ ceive the performance of your honourable speeches
“ to myself, in promising to join with me against
“ such as shall be breakers of the orders of the
“ church established, and movers of contentions
“ therein. Upon that, and other like speeches of
“ yours with me at your last being at Lambeth, I
“ have forborne to suspend or deprive any man
“ already placed in any cure or charge, for not sub-
“ scribing only, if hereafter he would promise unto
“ me in writing the observing of the Booke of Com-
“ mon Prayer, and the Orders of the church by law
“ set down; and I do now require subscription to the
“ said Articles of such only as are to be admitted to
“ the ministry and to ecclesiastical livings, wherein
“ I find myself something eased of my former trou-
“ bles; and as yet none or very few of the last
“ named persons do refuse to subscribe to the said
“ Articles, though some of them have been account-
“ ed heretofore very precise. I also very well re-
“ member that it was her own wish and desire that
“ such as hereafter should be admitted to any living
“ should in like manner be tied to the observing
“ the Orders, which, as it hath already wrought
“ some quietness in the church, so I doubt not but
“ that it will in time perfect the same. And I can-
“ not break that order in one, but other will look
“ for the like favour, to the renewing and increasing
“ of the former schism, not yet already extinguished.
“ Wherefore I heartily pray you to join with me
“ herein.

“ Touching the Articles enclosed in your letter, A. D. 1584.
 “ whereunto Leverwood hath subscribed, they are of 26 Eliz.
 “ no moment, but such as may easily be eluded ; for
 “ whereas he first saith that he will willingly sub-
 “ scribe as far as the law requireth at his hand, his
 “ meaning is, that the law requireth no such sub-
 “ scription ; for so I am informed that some lawyers
 “ (therein deceived) have persuaded him and others.
 “ And in saying that he will always in the ministry
 “ use the Book of Common Prayer, and none else,
 “ his meaning is, that he will use but so much of
 “ the book as pleaseth him, and not that he will use
 “ all things in the book required of him. I have
 “ dealt with him in some particularities, which he
 “ denieth to use, and therefore his subscription is to
 “ small purpose. I would, as near as I can, provide
 “ that none should hereafter come into the church
 “ to breed new troubles. I can be better occupied
 “ otherwise ; and God would bless our labours more
 “ amply, and give better success to the word so
 “ commonly and diligently preached, if we could be
 “ at peace and quietness among ourselves, which I
 “ most heartily wish, and doubt not to bring to pass
 “ by God’s grace ; the rather through your good
 “ help and assistance, whereof I assure myself. And
 “ so, with my hearty prayers, &c.,

“ JOHN CANTUAR.”

Thus have we presented to the reader some select A transi-
 letters, out of many in my hand, passing betwixt the tion to
 highest persons in church matters. I count it a other mat-
 blessing that Providence hath preserved such a trea-
 sure unplundered, esteem it a favour in such friends

A. D 1584. as imparted them unto me, and conceive it no un-
26 Eliz. grateful act in our communicating the same to the
 reader. And now we (who hitherto, according to
 good manners, have held our peace while such who
 were far our betters, by their pens, spake one to
 another) begin to resume our voice, and express
 ourselves as well as we may in the following his-
 tory.

Good Grin-
 dal his
 death.

10. By the changing of Edmund into John Can-
 tuar, it plainly appears, that as all these letters were
 written this year, so they were indited after the sixth
 of July, (and probably about December,) when bishop
 Grindal deceased. Our English Eli, for office, (high-
 est in spiritual promotion,) age, (whereby both were
 blind,) and manner of his death, thus far forth as
 heartbroken with sorrow. Grindal's grief proceeded
 from the queen's displeasure, undeservedly procured
 by the practices of his malicious enemies. There
 want not those who will strain the parallel betwixt
 Eli and Grindal in a fourth respect, both being
 guilty of dangerous indulgence and lenity to offenders.
 Indeed Grindal, living and dying sole and single,
 could not be cockering to his own children; but as
 a father of the church he is accused for too much
 conniving at the factious disturbers thereof. Sure I
 am he was an impartial corrector of men's vicious
 conversations: witness his sharp reproving of Julio,
 the Italian physician, for marrying another man's
 wife; which bitter but wholesome pill the physician
 himself not being able to digest, incensed the earl of
 Leicester, and he the queen's majesty against the
 good archbishop. But all was put on the account
 of Grindal's nonconformity, for favouring the factious

meetings called prophesyings^m. Grindal, sensible A. D. 1584.
26 Eliz. of the queen's displeasure, desired to resign his place, and confine himself to a yearly pension; not (as some may pretend) that it was against his conscience to keep it, but because above his impotent age to manage so great a charge. The place was proffered to Whitgift, but he, in the presence of the queen, utterly refused it; yet what he would not snatch soon after fell into his hands by Grindal's death.

11. Whoso beholds the large revenues conferred A plea for
Grindal's
poverty. on Grindal, the long time he enjoyed them, (bishop of London, archbishop of York and Canterbury above eighteen years,) the little charge encumbering him, dying a single man, will admire at the mean estate he left behind him; yea, perchance they will erroneously impute this to his prodigality, which more truly is to be ascribed to his contempt of the world, unwilling to die guilty of much wealth; not to speak of fat servants made under a lean master. The little he had, as it was well gotten, was well bestowed, in pious uses on Cambridge and Oxford, with the building and endowing of a school at St. Bees in Cumberlandⁿ, where he was born. Yea, he may be beheld as a benefactor to the English nation, for bringing tamarisk first over into England. As the *inventors of evil things* are justly taxed by the apostle^o, so the first importers of good

^m [This tale is told by sir J. Harrington, in his *Nugæ Antiquæ*, II p. 18.]

ⁿ [He was also a considerable benefactor to Queen's College, Oxford, and bestowed

upon its library some of its most valuable books, many of which contain annotations in his own hand]

^o Rom. i 13. [See the Worthies, II. 312.]

A. D. 1584 things deserve due commendation ; that plant
26 Eliz. being so sovereign to mollify the hardness of the
spleen, a malady whereof students (betrayed there-
unto by their sedentary lives) too generally do
complain.

SECT. VI.

TO THE

MASTER, WARDENS, AND ALL THE
MEMBERS

OF THE HONOURABLE COMPANY OF MERCERS
OF LONDON.

As it would be a sin of omission in me, (so much obliged to your society,) should no share in my History be allowed unto you, so I should commit a great incongruity if assigning it any where else than in the reign of queen Elizabeth, whose great grandfather, sir Godfrey Boleyn, (1458, mayor of London,) is generally believed one of your company, so that the crowned maidenhead in your arms may in some sort seem propheticall, presaging such a queen-virgin should be extracted from one of your society, as the Christian world could not parallel in all particulars.

Indeed much of credit is imported in your very name ; for seeing all buyers and sellers are mercers a Mercado, custom hath confined and fixed the term eminently on your corporation, as always the prime chapmen of our nation, in which respect you have the precedency of all other companies.

I will detain you no longer from better customers, wishing you sound wares, quick vent, good prices, sure payment ; one

commodity alone excepted, I mean the truth itself: this buy, and sell it not^a; purchase it on any terms, but part with it on no conditions.

A D. 1584.
26 Eliz.

Warning
to sabbath-
breakers.



ABOUT four o'clock in the afternoon, on the Lord's day, a sad accident happened in Paris Garden, on the south side of Thames, over against London. Whilst multitudes were beholding the baiting of the bear, the old under-propped scaffolds, overladen with people, suddenly fell down, killed eight outright^b, hurt and bruised many more, to the shortening of their lives. The assertors of the strict observation of the sabbath^c vigorously improve this (as well they may) against them who profane the Lord's day, which afterwards (the joyful effect of a doleful cause) was generally kept with more carefulness.

Robert
Brown first
appears.

2. Robert Brown began at this time to broach his opinions. He was born in Rutlandshire, of an ancient and worshipful family, (one whereof founded a fair hospital in Stamford^d;) nearly allied to the lord treasurer Cecil. He was bred for a time in Cambridge, I conceive in Corpus Christi College^e, but question whether ever a graduate therein. He used some time to preach at Bennet Church, where the vehemency of his utterance passed for zeal among the common people, and made the vulgar to admire, the wise to suspect him. Dr. Still, afterwards master of Trinity, (out of curiosity, or casually present

^a Prov. xxiii. 23.

^b Holinshed, I. p. 1353.

^c Dr. Bownd.

^d Camden's Brit. in Lincolnshire.

^e ["Some time of Bennet

"College in Cambridge," says sir G. Paule, in his Life of Whitgift, §. 77.]

at his preaching,) discovered in him something extraordinary, which he presaged would prove the disturbance of the church, if not seasonably prevented. Some years after, Brown went over into Zealand, to purchase himself more reputation from foreign parts^f; for a smack of travel gives an high taste to strange opinions, making them better relished to the lick-erish lovers of novelty. Home he returns with a full cry against the church of England, as having so much of Rome she had nothing of Christ in her discipline.

Norfolk^g was the first place whereon Brown (new flown home out of the Low Countries) perched himself, and therein in the city of Norwich; a place which then spake little more than *medietatem linguæ*, having almost as many Dutch strangers as English natives inhabiting therein. Brown, beginning with the Dutch, soon proceeded to infect his own countrymen; for which he was confined, as the following letter of the lord treasurer Burleigh to bishop Freake, of Norwich, will inform us^h:

“After my very hearty commendations to your
“lordship, whereas I understand that one Brown, a
“preacher, is by your lordship and others of the
“ecclesiastical commission committed to the custody
“of the sheriff of Norfolk, where he remains a
“prisoner, for some matters of offence uttered by
“him by way of preaching; wherein I perceive, by
“sight of some letters written by certain godly

^f [See Strype's Parker, p 326.]

^g [See Strype's Annals, III. pp. 44, 186.]

^h [Bishop Freake's letter

respecting Brown and his errors, to which this of lord Bur-

leigh's is a reply, will be found in Strype's Annals, III. p. 16.

It is dated April 19, 1581.]

A. D. 1584. "preachers in your lordship's diocese, he hath been
 26 Eliz. "dealt with, and by them dissuaded from that course
 "he hath taken. Forasmuch as he is my kinsman,
 "(if he be son to him whom I take him to be,) and
 "that his error seemeth to proceed of zeal rather
 "than of malice, I do therefore wish he were cha-
 "ritably conferred with and reformed; which course
 "I pray your lordship may be taken with him, either
 "by your lordship or such as your lordship shall
 "assign for that purpose. And in case there shall
 "not follow thereof such success as may be to your
 "liking, that then you would be content to permit
 "him to repair hither to London, to be further
 "dealt with as I shall take order for upon his com-
 "ing; for which purpose I have written a letter to
 "the sheriff, if your lordship shall like thereof. And
 "so I bid your lordship right heartily farewell.

"From the court at Westminster, this 21st of
 "April, 1581.

"Your Lordship's very loving Friend,

"W. B."

After Brown, being thus brought up to London by the advice of his friends, was wrought to some tolerable compliance, and being discharged by the archbishop of Canterbury, was by the lord treasurer sent home to his father, Christopher Brown¹, at Tolethorp in Rutland, esq.; one, I assure you, of ancient and right worshipful extraction, having myself seen a charter granted by king Henry the

¹ [Anthony Brown, according to Strype, *Life of Whitgift*, p 323; and so in Fuller originally, though he afterwards corrected it.]

Eighth, (the sixteenth of July, in the 18th of his <sup>A. D. 1584.
26 Eliz.</sup> reign,) and confirmed by act of parliament, to Francis Brown, father to the aforesaid Christopher, “giving him leave to put on his cap in the presence of the king or his heirs, or any lord spiritual or temporal in the land, and not to put it off but for his own ease and pleasure.” But let us see the lord treasurer’s letter in the behalf of Brown to his father:

“After my very hearty commendations, understanding that your son, Robert Brown, had been sent for up by my lord bishop of Canterbury, to answer to such matters as he was to be charged withal, contained in a book made by him, and published in print, as it was thought, by his means, I thought good, considering he was your son, and of my blood, to send unto my lord of Canterbury in his behalf, that he might find what reasonable favour he could shew him, before whom I perceive he hath answered in some good sort; and although I think he will not deny the making of the book, yet by no means will he confess to be acquainted with the publishing or printing of it. He hath besides yielded unto his lordship such further contentment, as he is contented (the rather at my motion) to discharge him; and therefore for that he purposeth to repair to you, I have thought good to accompany him with these my letters, and to pray you for this cause, or any his former dealings, not to withdraw from him your fatherly love and affection; not doubting but with time he will be fully recovered and withdrawn from the relics of some fond opinions of his, which will be the better

A. D. 1584. “ done if he be dealt withal in some kind and tem-
 26 Elhz. perate manner. And so I bid you very heartily
 “ farewell.

“ From my house near the Savoy, this eighth of
 “ October, 1585.

“ Your loving Friend and Cousin,

“ WILLIAM BURGHELEY.”

.But it seems Brown's errors were so inlaid in him, no conference with divines could convince him to the contrary, whose incorrigibleness made his own father weary of his company. Men may wish, God only can work, children to be good. The old gentleman would own him for his son no longer^k; then his son owned the church of England for his mother, desiring to rid his hands of him, as by the ensuing letter will appear:

“ After my very hearty commendations, I perceive
 “ by your letters that you have little or no hopes
 “ of your son's conformity, as you had when you
 “ received him into your house; and therefore you
 “ seem desirous that you might have liberty to
 “ remove him further off from you, as either to
 “ Stamford or some other place, which I know no
 “ cause but you may very well and lawfully do,
 “ where I wish he might better be persuaded to
 “ conform himself, for his own good, and yours and
 “ his friends' comfort. And so I very heartily bid
 “ you farewell.

“ From the court, this seventeenth of February,
 “ 1585.

“ Your very loving Friend and Cousin,

“ WILLIAM BURGHELEY.”

^k [See Strype's Parker, p. 327.]

Thus, to make our story of the “troublesome
 “man” the more entire, we have trespassed on the <sup>A. D. 1584.
26 Eliz.</sup>
 two following years, yet without discomposing our
 chronology on the margin.

3. With his assistant, Richard Harrison, a petty <sup>Brown his
opinions.</sup> pedagogue, they inveighed against bishops, ecclesiastical courts, ceremonies, ordination of ministers, and what not; fancying here on earth a platform of a perfect church, without any faults (understand it thus, save those that are made by themselves) therein¹. The reader, if desirous to know their opinions, is referred to the large and learned treatises written against them, particularly to the pains of Dr. Fulke, proving that the Brownists (so named from this Brown, their ringleader) were in effect the same with the ancient Donatists, only newly revived. Thus there is a circulation, as in fashion of clothes, so of opinions, the same after some years return; Brownism being no more than Donatism vamped with some new additions. The queen and her council seriously set themselves, first by gentleness to reduce, and (that not succeeding) by severity to suppress, the increase of this faction. Brown himself used to boast that “he had been committed to “thirty-two prisons, and in some of them he could “not see his hand at noon-day.” Yet for all this he came off at last both with saving his life and keeping his living (and that none of the meanest, Achurch in Northamptonshire) until the day of his death^m.

¹ [He went over with Brown into Zealand. See Strype's Parker, p. 327. Brown himself was originally master of the free-school in St. Olave's, Southwark, and disseminated his tenets in a gravel-pit near Islington. See Paget's Here-siogr. p. 66]

^m [“He did use to say,” observes Anthony Wood, “that “the true protestants had no

A. D. 1584.
26 Eliz.

Extraor-
dinary fa-
vour in-
dulged unto
him.

4. One may justly wonder, when many meaner accessories in this schism were arraigned, condemned, executed, how this Brown, the principal, made so fair an escape, yea, enjoyed such preferment. I will never believe that he ever formally recanted his opinions, either by word or writing, as to the main of what he maintained. More probable it is, that the promise of his general compliance with the church of England (so far forth as not to make future disturbance therein) met with the archbishop's courteous acceptance thereof; both which, effectually improved by the countenance of Thomas Cecil, earl of Exeter, (Brown's near kinsman and patron,) procured this extraordinary favour to be indulged unto himⁿ. His parsonage he freely possessed, allowing a sufficient salary for one to discharge the cure, and (though against them in his judgment) was contented, and perchance pleased, to take the tithes of his own parish.

The au-
thor's ob-
servation
on him.

5. For my own part, (whose nativity Providence placed within a mile of this Brown his pastoral charge,) I have, when a youth, often beheld him. He was of an imperious nature, offended if what he affirmed but in common discourse were not instantly received as an oracle. He was then so far from the sabbatarian strictness to which some pre-

" church in England, yet af-
" terwards he found the way
" into their church, and became
" pastor of a place in North-
" amptonshire called Aychurch,
" *bonum nomen, bonum omen,*
" *et quantum mutatus ab illo.*
" And then he used to say that
" there was no church in Eng-
" land but his, and that was *A*

" *Church.*" Athen. I. 341]
" [Rather, indeed, of the
" lord treasurer himself. See his
" letter to the bishop of Peter-
" borough, dated June 20th, 1589,
" in behalf of Brown, who had
" now submitted himself to the
" order and government of the
" church of England. Strype's
" Whitgift, p. 323]

ciser Brownists did afterwards pretend, that both in A. D. 1584.
judgment and practice he seemed rather libertine 26 Eliz.
therein. In a word, he had in my time a wife, with
whom for many years he never lived, parted from her
on some distaste; and a church wherein he never
preached, though he received the profits thereof.

6. As for his death in the prison in Northamp-
ton, many years after, (in the reign of king Charles, The occa-
sion of his
late death.
anno 1630,) it nothing related to those opinions he

° [Of this man, Robert Baillie, a Scotch presbyterian, gives the following account in his "Dis-
suasive from the Errors of the Time," p. 13, Lond. 1645:
"The horror of this remarkable vengeance (he means the death of Bolton, a separatist prior to Brown) did not deter Robert Brown, first a school-master in Southwark, and then a preacher at Islington near London, to take up that banner of separation which God, as with a bolt from heaven, had wrung out of the hands of miserable Bolton; albert that cause did thrive no better with him than with his predecessor When this rash young man, (for old he could not be in the 1580 year of God, when he was the prime leader of that sect, having but lately died,) when he, I say, had gathered a separate congregation, and drawn up for the defence of this way these writings, whence ever since the best arguments for that schism are drawn, they went over to enjoy their liberty to Mid-delburgh, of Zealand. But

" behold the wrath of God
" following them at their heels!
" When there was no disturb-
" ance from without, they fell
" to such jarring among them-
" selves, that soon they broke
" all to pieces: the most turned
" anabaptists; Brown himself
" returned to England, recant-
" ed his Brownism, received a
" parsonage at the hand of a
" bishop. The course of his
" life, to his deep old age, was
" so extremely scandalous, that
" more than ordinary charity
" is needful to persuade that
" ever he was led with a good
" spirit I have heard it from
" reverend ministers that he
" was a common beater of his
" poor old wife, and would not
" stick to defend publicly this
" his wicked practice, also that
" he was an open profaner of
" the sabbath; and that his
" injustice in not paying the
" small pittance he was in-
" debted to him whom laziness
" in his calling made him to
" keep for the supply of the
" cure of his parsonage did
" bring him to prison, in the
" which, for that very cause,
" he continued till death"]

A D. 1584.
26 Eliz. did or his followers do maintain ; for, as I am credibly informed, being by the constable of the parish (who chanced also to be his godson) somewhat roughly and rudely required the payment of a rate, he happened in passion to strike him. The constable, not taking it patiently as a castigation from a godfather, but in anger as an affront to his office, complained to sir Rowland St. John, a neighbouring justice of the peace, and Brown is brought before him. The knight, of himself, was prone rather to pity and pardon than punish his passion ; but Brown's behaviour was so stubborn, that he appeared obstinately ambitious of a prison, as desirous, after long absence, to renew his familiarity with his ancient acquaintance. His *mittimus* is made, and a cart with a feather-bed provided to carry him, he himself being so infirm (above eighty) to go, too unwieldy to ride, and no friend so favourable as to purchase for him a more comely conveyance. To Northampton gaol he is sent, where, soon after, he sickened, died, and was buried in a neighbouring churchyard ; and it is no hurt to wish that his bad opinions had been interred with him.

Two
Brownists
executed.

7. The tenets of Brownists daily increasing, their books were prohibited by the queen's authority ; notwithstanding which prohibition some presumed to disperse the same, and paid dearly for their contempt therein ; for Elias Thacker was hanged on the fourth and John Coping on the sixth of June, at the same place, St. Edmund's Bury, and for the same offence, the scattering such schismatical pamphlets P.

8. John Whitgift, succeeding in the archbishopric, found it much surcharged in the valuation and impaired in the revenues, through the negligence of his predecessor, who would pay willingly what they asked of him, and take contentedly what any tendered to him. First, therefore, Whitgift procured an order out of the exchequer for the abatement of an hundred pound for him and his successors in the payment of his first-fruits^a; afterwards he encountered no meaner man than that great courtier, soldier, and privy counsellor, sir James Crofts; or rather he legally contested with the queen in him, and recovered from both Long Beechwood in Kent, containing above a thousand acres of land, detained from his predecessor under colour of a lease from her majesty^r.

9. This year Nicholas Sanders (more truly Slan-^{Death of Sanders.}ders) had in Ireland a woful end of his wretched life^s. He was born in Surrey, bred first in Winchester, then in New College in Oxford, where he was king's professor of canon law; but afterwards, banishing himself, fled to Rome, there made priest and doctor of divinity. He accompanied cardinal Hosius to the council of Trent, and there is said, by disputing and declaiming, to have gained himself great reputation. At last he was sent over pope's nuncio into Ireland, conceived then a desperate employment, and therefore many catholics regretted thereat; yea, some were overheard to say, (but it is Pitzæus Sanders' own sister's son who reports it^t.) "Why does his holiness send our Sanders into Ire-

^a Sir George Paul, Life of Whitgift, §. 52.

^r Idem.

^s Camden's Eliz. in hoc anno.

^t De Scriptor. p. 773.

A. D. 1584. "land? we value him more than all Ireland is
 26 Eliz. "worth." There, amongst the bogs and mountains,
 was he starved to death, justly famished for want of
 food, who formerly had surfeited on improbable lies,
 by him first forged on the nativity of queen Eliza-
 beth ^u.

Lewes
 burnt at
 Norwich.

10. We must not forget how, this year, one John
 Lewes was burnt at Norwich for denying the God-
 head of Christ, and holding other detestable here-
 sies ^x. He called himself "Abdoit^y," (let him tell
 you what he meant thereby,) alluding therein to the
 promise of a new name, *which no man knoweth but
 him that receiveth it^z*; having in it a little mock-
 Hebrew, to make himself the more remarkable.

Popish
 libels.

11. Now, so great was the malice of the Jesuits
 against her majesty, that at this time they set forth
 many slanderous libels, stirring up her subjects and
 servants to do the same to her as Judith did to
 Holofernes ^a. One of their principal pamphlets was
 entitled "A Treatise of Schism." The suspicion of
 making it fell on Gregory Martin, one probable
 enough for such a prank, (as being divinity professor
 in Rheims,) did not his epitaph there ensure me he

^u [This is denied by the
 author of the life of Sanders,
 prefixed to his book "De Lu-
 theranorum Dissidiis," &c.
 ed. 1594. He states that San-
 ders died from over-exertion,
 worn out by the constant em-
 ployment of his spiritual func-
 tions. In the "Execution of
 Justice" it is stated that
 Sanders died raving. Somers'
 Tracts, I. p. 203. An excel-
 lent account of Sanders will

be found in Wood's Athen. I.
 204. The account of him pre-
 fixed to the work above quoted
 is also a valuable document,
 hitherto, I believe, unnoticed.]

^x [The original draught of
 the *significavit* for his burning
 is still preserved among the
 Sarum MSS. in the Bodleian.]

^y Stow's Chron. p 697.

^z Rev. ii. 17.

^a Camden's Eliz. in hoc
 anno.

was dead and buried two years before^b; though it is possible his posthume work might be born abroad <sup>A. D. 1584.
26 Eliz.</sup> after the death of the author thereof. But whoever made it, William Carter, the stationer, paid dearly for publishing it, being executed at Tyburn^c; and in the next month five seminaries (James Fenn, George Haddock, John Munden, John Nutter, and Thomas Cemerford) were hanged, bowelled, and quartered for treason, at Tyburn; and many others about the same time executed in other places.

12. Yet even in the midst of this necessary severity her majesty was most merciful unto many popish malefactors, whose lives stood forfeited to the laws, in the rigour thereof; for no fewer than seventy priests (some of them actually condemned to die, all legally deserving death) were, by one act of grace, pardoned, and sent over beyond sea. Amongst these were,

i. Gaspar Haywood, son to that eminent epigrammatist, the first Jesuit^d that ever set foot in England^e.

ii. James Bosgrave.

iii. John Hart, a learned man, zealous to dispute, not dangerous to practice for his religion.

iv. Edward Rishton, (ungrateful wretch,) who afterwards railed in print on the queen, who gave him his life^f.

^b [Oct. 28, 1582.] Pitz. in Vita, p 782. [Tanner attributes the tract to Martin]

^c [See a full account of him and his trial in Bridgewater's Concertatio, f 127, 295. A very detailed narrative of the proceedings against Fenn and

the other seminaries mentioned below will also be found in the same author, f. 133—160]

^d Camden's Eliz. 1584

^e [See Bridgewater, ibid. f. 409]

^f [These men were all Jesuits, except the last For an

A. D. 1584.
27 Eliz

Her majesty's mercy herein was the more remarkable, because done at a time when treasons against her person (by Ardern, Somerville, Throgmorton, &c.) did follow, or rather tread, one on another. If hereafter the edge of justice fall sharper on Jesuits, let them thank their own treachery, which whetted it against themselves.

Two fruit-
less con-
ferences.

13. This year two conferences or disputations were kept, (the last at Lambeth,) about the discipline and ceremonies of the church.

i. Whitgift, archbishop of Canterbury, Sandys of York, and Cooper of Winchester, for the same.

ii. Unconforming ministers (whose names I cannot certainly attain) against it.

iii. The lords of her majesty's privy council, and some other persons of honour, auditors thereof &c.

This conference effected nothing on the disputants as to the altering of their opinions, little on the auditors, but as much on all as any judicious person ever expected. What Elijah said passionately, *I am no better than my fathers*^h, may be soberly said of this conference: it was no happier than any of its ancestors which went before it; let me add also,

account of these proceedings by their own party, see Mori Hist Soc. Jesu, p. 133. This writer has devoted many pages to the history of these men, who were eminent among those of their own persuasions. Bosgrave was one of those who assisted at the conference between Campian and dean Nowell and others, in the Tower, in 1581. See Bom-

bini, Vita Campiani, p. 243. Hart was the person whose disputation with Rainolds has been already mentioned, and Rishton was the continuator of Saunders' book, *De Schismate Anglicano* Of Haywood, Hart, and Rishton, see Wood's Athen I. p. 223, 277, 290.]

^g [See Sir G. Paule's Life of Whitgift, § 55]

^h 1 Kings xix. 4.

and no unhappier than its successors that shall come after it; it being observed that meetings of this nature, before or after this time, never produced any great matter on persons present thereat, who generally carry away the same judgment they brought with them. And yet the lords were pleased to say their judgments were satisfied in the point on the bishops' behalf, not conceiving their adversaries' arguments so slight and trivial as now they appeared. This was in some of them but a court compliment, who afterwards secretly acted against the archbishop in favour of the other party¹.

14. Whitgift, finding this first way unsuccessful, fell from other reasoning to a flat argument from authority, enjoining all admitted to the ecclesiastical orders and benefices the subscription of the following Articles:

i. "That the queen had supreme authority over all persons born within her dominions, of what condition soever they were; and that no other prince, prelate, or potentate hath or ought to have any jurisdiction, civil or ecclesiastical, within her realms or dominions."

ii. "That the Book of Common Prayer, and the ordination of bishops, priests, and deacons, containeth nothing contrary to the word of God, but

¹ [Their reason being, not that they cared about the merits of the question one way or another, but, like Judas, when those honourable persons saw that they might not sway (as formerly in the restraint of archbishop Grindal) and prefer whom they

"listed unto ecclesiastical motions, they, with some others, linked themselves against the archbishop, and gave him (being yet no councillor of state) many thwarts at the council-board." Sir G. Paul, *ibid.*]

A. D. 1584.
27 Eliz.

Subscription severely pressed.

A. D. 1584
27 Eliz. “may lawfully be used; and that they will use that,
“and none other.”

iii. “That the Articles of Religion agreed in the
“synod holden at London in the year of our Lord
“1562, and published by the queen’s authority, they
“did allow of, and believe them to be consonant to
“the word of God.”

The severe enforcing of subscription hereunto, what great disturbance it occasioned in the church, shall hereafter (by God’s assistance) be made to appear, leaving others to judge whether the offence was given or taken thereby.

The Rhemish translation comes forth. 15. Now came forth the Rhemish translation of the New Testament^k, a translation which needeth to be translated, neither good Greek, Latin, or English, as every where bespeckled with hard words, (pretended not renderable in English without abatement of some expressiveness,) which transcend common capacities; besides, it is taxed by our divines as guilty of abominable errors therein. It was printed in large paper, with a fair letter and margent, all which I have charity enough to impute to their desire to do it for the more dignity of God’s word; whilst others interpret it that thereby purposely they enhanced the price, to put it past the power of poor men’s purses to purchase it. Another accident raised the dearness thereof: because, so many books being seized on by the queen’s searchers, the whole price of the edition fell the more heavy on the remainder. But suppose a poor lay-catholic so rich through his

^k [Of the Rhemish Testament, and the answers made to it by Fulke and Cartwright, see Strype’s *Whitgift*, p. 253. *Annals*, III. p. 199]

industry as secretly to purchase one of these Rhemish A. D. 1584.
Testaments, he durst not avouch the reading thereof ^{27 Eliz.}
without the permission of his superiors licensing him
thereunto.

16. Secretary Walsingham, by his letters, solicited Cartwright
Mr. Thomas Cartwright to undertake the refuting of ^{invited to}
this Rhemish translation, and, the better to enable ^{answer it.}
him for the work, sent him an hundred pounds¹ out
of his own purse^m; a bountiful gift for one who
was, though a great statesman, a man of small estate,
contracting honourable poverty on himself by his
expense on the publicⁿ, as dying not so engaged to
his private creditors as the whole church and state
was indebted to his endeavours. Walsingham his

¹ See the preface to Cartwright's book.

^m [A copy of this letter is in the State Paper Office, although with no name attached to it. The letter says, "I have heretofore written to Mr. Langston, to acquaint him with her majesty's pleasure for your removing from thence, who taketh your being there offensively, by what occasions I know not, neither may we inquire of those matters." The writer then informs him that he is desirous that he should answer certain books of the Jesuits; the Testament they would have first begun withal; the order to be this in your travail, that as you have done and finished any work to send it over hither to be seen and allowed by the best learned of both the universi- ties, and that you dedicate

" them to the lord treasurer, if not to her majesty, joining to the lord treasurer whom you best like; and that way is thought best to make an overture for your future favour. For your pains you shall be allowed 100*l.* by the year. . . . And if you will have any company to you to help you, you shall have whom you will, and as many as you will, and they likewise shall have good allowance made them. I pray you return me your answer by this bearer, that in both points I may give answer according to duty, both for her majesty's satisfaction and for this good work. . . . From the court at Greenwich, this 5th July, 1582." See further respecting this matter in Strype's *Whitgift*, p. 253.]

ⁿ Camden's *Elizabeth*, anno 1590.

A. D. 1584. letters to Cartwright were seconded by another from
27 Eliz. the doctors and heads of houses (and Dr. Fulke amongst the rest) at Cambridge, besides the importunity of the ministers of London and Suffolk, soliciting him to the same purpose. Hereupon Cartwright buckled himself to the employment, and was very forward in the pursuance thereof.

Whitgift
 stoppeth
 his book.

17. No sooner had Whitgift gotten notice what Cartwright was a-writing, but presently he prohibited his farther proceeding therein. It seems Walsingham was secretary of state, not of religion, wherein the archbishop overpowered him. Many commended his care, not to entrust the defence of the doctrine of England to a pen so disaffected to the discipline thereof; others blamed his jealousy, to deprive the church of so learned pains of him whose judgment would so solidly and affections so zealously confute the public adversary. Distasteful passages, (shooting at Rome, but glancing at Canterbury,) if any such were found in his book, might be expunged, whilst it was pity so good fruit should be blasted in the bud for some bad leaves about it. Disheartened hereat, Cartwright desisted; but some years after, encouraged by an honourable lord, resumed the work; but, prevented by death, perfected no further than the fifteenth chapter of the Revelation. Many years lay this worthy work neglected, and the copy thereof mouse-eaten in part, whence the printer excused some defects therein in his edition, which, though late, yet at last came forth, anno 1618; a book which, notwithstanding the foresaid defects, is so complete that the Rhemists durst never return the least answer thereunto.

Dr. Fulke
 first effect-
 ed it.

18. Meantime, whilst Cartwright his refutation of

the Rhemish was thus retarded, Dr. William Fulke, <sup>A. D. 1584.
27 Eliz.</sup> master of Pembroke Hall in Cambridge, entered the list against them, judiciously and learnedly performing his undertaking therein. His daughter, and, as I take it, the only survivor of his children, lately set forth the fourth and fairest edition of this his Confutation, and dedicated it to king Charles^o.

19. The Rhemists profess, in their preface to the New Testament, “that the Old Testament also lieth ^{A promise never performed.}” “by them for lack of good means to publish the whole in such sort as a work of so great charge and importance requireth;” which seemeth strange to a judicious consideration, for, had a voluminous legend of saints’ lives (with pictures as costly as superstitious) been to be set forth, a mass, a mint, a mine of money could easily be advanced to defray the expenses thereof. Thus papists can be poor or rich, as they please themselves. Some behold this their promise to set forth the Old Testament as not really intended, but given out to raise men’s expectations, which in process of time would fall of itself, and the proffer by degrees be forgotten; others interpret their resolutions real, but purposely revoked, seeing the ill success of their New Testament, so canvassed and confuted by the protestant divines. Perceiving that their small pinnace, which they first

^o [Dr. Fulke, master of Pembroke Hall in Cambridge-shire, completed Cartwright’s Confutation of the Rhemists’ Translation, which had been left unfinished, adding certain chapters in the Revelations, according to Strype, Whitgift, 254. He was also the author of a work called a Comment

on the Rhemish Testament, first published in London 1580, whereof the fourth edition was published in 1633. He also answered Dr. Gregory Martin, a Romanist who had attacked the English version of the Scriptures. See Tanner’s Bibl. p. 302, and Strype’s Annals, III 199.]

A.D. 1584.
27 Eliz. set forth, met at sea with such boisterous weather, wisely they would not adventure a greater vessel after it; but rather left it to rot on the dock, than they would launch it forth in such danger. A third sort beheld this their promise as a modest and man-nerly (*alias* a crafty and cunning) begging of a con-tribution of the catholic party for setting forth of the same, which never as yet came into public view. Yea, the Old Testament, some said, would be old indeed before the translation thereof in English were by them set forth; insomuch that some conceived a lease of land, till this their promise be performed, almost as good as the fee-simple thereof.

Confidence
of many at
last de-
ceived.

20. But now, though men were so generally con-fident that these long-expected Rhemish notes on the Old Testament would not come forth till the Greek Calends, they have since found themselves deceived, seeing some twenty years after that long-looked-for work crept forth into the world, little notice being taken thereof by the protestants; partly because no great eminency therein to entitle it to their perusal, partly because that moiety of the Bible is of least concernment in the controversies betwixt us and the church of Rome.

The death
of George
Etheredge.

21. I find not this year the death of any eminent English protestant divine^p. Amongst the papists George Etheredge departed this life, much lamented by those of his own persuasion. He was bachelor of physic in Corpus Christi College in Oxford, and king's professor of Greek in that university, which place he quitted at the coming in of queen Eliza-

^p [According to Wood, who Etheredge in his Athen. I. p. has given some account of 237, he was living in 1588.]

beth, and betook himself there to a private life. A. D. 1585.
 His house was an hospital to relieve those of his ^{28 Eliz.}
 own religion, on whom he expended his estate. He
 was one of the primitive catholics, saith my author^a,
 persecuted for his conscience. As he started soon,
 he ran along in the race of patience, used to all the
 gaols in Oxford and London for thirty years toge-
 ther; insomuch that he professed that the variety of
 prisons was some pleasure, and the custom of durance
 had made fetters to be freedom unto him.

22. This year came forth the exposition of Mr.
 Thomas Rogers on the Articles of the Church of
 England, which at first met not with that welcome
 entertainment which seemed due to his endeavours;
 for besides the two extremes (papists and schisma-
 tics) highly enraged, many protestants of a middle
 temper were much offended thereat. Some con-
 ceived it presumption for any private minister to
 make himself the mouth of the church, to render
 her sense in matters of so high concernment; others
 were offended that his interpretation confined the
 charitable latitude formerly allowed in those Articles,
 the composers whereof, providently foreseeing that
 doctrinal differences would inevitably arise in so
 large a church as England was, even betwixt pro-
 testants agreeing in fundamentals of religion, pur-
 posely couched the Articles in general terms, not
 that falsehood should take shelter under the covert
 thereof, but to include all such dissenters within the
 comprehensiveness of the expressions; whereas now
 Mr. Rogers his restrictive comment shut out such
 from their concurrence with the church of England,

^a Pitz in Vita, p. 785.

A. D. 1585. which the discreet laxity of the text admitted there-
28 Elz. unto. However, the worth of the work in some
 years wrought itself into good esteem, as dedicated
 to and countenanced by the archbishop, though the
 author thereof never got any higher preferment¹.

Three great
 corpora-

23. Three great societies at this time in London

¹ [Thomas Rogers, an excellent preacher, born, as Wood thinks, (Ath. vol. I. 400,) in Cheshire, and entered at Oxford about 1568, obtained a studentship of Christ Church, and took the degree of M. A. 1576. He was chaplain to archbishop Bancroft, and held the rectory of Horninge, near Bury St. Edmund's, Suffolk, where he is supposed to have died, and to have been buried in the chancel of that church 22nd Feb. 1615-16. His book on the Articles of the Church of England bears this title: "The Faith, Doctrine, and Religion professed and professed in the Realm of England and Dominions of the same, expressed in Thirty-nine Articles concordably agreed upon by the reverend Bishops and Clergy of this Kingdom, at two several Meetings or Convocations of theirs in the years of our Lord 1562 and 1604. The said Articles analyzed into Propositions, and the Propositions proved to be agreeable both to the written Word of God and to the extant Confessions of all the neighbour Churches Christianly reformed. The Adversaries also of note and name which from the Apostles' days and

"Primitive Church hitherto
 "have crossed or contradicted
 "the said Articles in general,
 "or any particle or proposition
 "arising from any of them in
 "particular, hereby are discovered, laid open, and confuted. Perused and by the lawful authority of the Church of England allowed to be public. Rom. xvi. 17, *I beseech you*, &c. London: Printed by John Legatt, and are to be sold by Michael Sparke, at the sign of the Blue Bible in Green Arbor, near the Little Old Bailey. 1607." The work passed through several editions, but this mentioned by Fuller I have never seen nor been able to find any account of it. The book is dedicated to archbishop Bancroft, the author subscribing himself, "At Horninge, near St. Edmund's Bury, in Suffolk, the 11th of March, 1607. Your grace's poor chaplain, always to command, Thomas Rogers" The editions of this book previous to 1607 must have contained much less than those of this year, since continual reference is made to points as low down as the year 1603. The preface contains much curious historical information.]

were busily employed, the two former of them avouched by law, and the third avouching itself, namely,

A. D. 1585.
28 Eliz.
tions now
on foot
together.

<i>The Parliament.</i>	<i>The Convocation</i>	<i>The Assembly of Ministers.</i>
Begun and holden at Westminster the twenty-third day of November last ^s , and there continued till the twenty-ninth of March following, wherein the statute against Jesuits and priests their departing out and not coming into the realm, was made, with penalty for the relieving them	Kept in St. Paul's in London, beginning with a most learned Latin sermon ^t , preached by John Copcot ^u , doctor of divinity, (afterwards master of Bennet College in Cambridge,) taking for his text 1 Tim. vi 13, <i>Præcipio tibi coram Deo</i> , &c Hence the convocation was removed to the collegiate church of St Peter's in Westminster, where Dr. Goodman, dean thereof, made a solemn protestation with his fellow prebendaries that the said meeting ought not to be prejudicial to the privileges of his church. His protestation was accepted, and assurance given that the said convocation met not there in any manner to infringe their immunities, but only for the maturation of business with the more expedition through the convenience of the place William Redman, doctor of divinity, archdeacon of Canterbury, was chosen and presented prolocutor ^x	The certain place of their convening not known, being clandestine, arbitrary, and changeable, as advised by their conveniences. They are better discovered by their moving than by their meeting, and their practices more conspicuous than their places. Some agents for them were all day at the door of the parliament house, and some part of the night in the chambers of parliament men, effectually soliciting their business with them.

^s [1584. See D'Ewes' Journal, p. 311.]

^t "Venusta et eloquens concilio," saith the Register of Canterbury, out of which I transcribed it.

^u [Of Dr. Copcot, see Hist. of Univ. of Camb. p. 148. He was chaplain to archbishop Whitgift, and a strenuous op-

poser of the puritans. Strype's Life of Whitgift, p. 274.]

^x [For an account of the proceedings of this convocation, see Wilkins' Conc. IV. p. 306. It continued till February 11th, 1586. In the earlier sessions the errors of Hilton, mentioned at §. 27, were condemned.]

A.D. 1585.
28 Eliz

The arch-
bishop,
afraid of
alteration
in church
discipline,
writes to
the queen.

24. Wonder not if archbishop Whitgift repaired seldom to, and resided but a short time in, the convocation, having other work to do in the parliament, where what impression was made by the agents of the ministers will appear by his ensuing letter to her majesty^y:

“ To the Queen’s most excellent Majesty.

“ May it please your majesty to be advertised, “ that notwithstanding the charge of late given by “ your highness to the lower house of parliament for “ dealing in causes of the church; albeit also ac- “ cording to your majesty’s good liking we have set “ down orders for the admitting of meet men into “ the ministry hereafter, yet have they passed a bill “ in the house yesterday touching that matter, which, “ besides other great inconveniences, (as namely, the “ trial of the minister’s sufficiency by twelve laymen, “ and such-like,) hath this also, that if it pass by “ parliament it cannot hereafter but in parliament “ be altered, what necessity soever shall urge there- “ unto; which I am persuaded in short time will “ appear, considering the multitude of livings not fit “ for men so qualified, by reason of the smallness “ thereof. Whereas if it pass but as a canon from “ us, by your majesty’s authority, it may be observed “ or altered at your pleasure.

“ They have also passed a bill giving liberty to “ marry at all times of the year, without restraint,

^y Out of bishop Whitgift’s wood’s, and since in my own manuscript of his own Letters, possession. [Printed also in afterwards in sir Peter Man- Strype’s Whitgift, p. 198.]

“ contrary to the old canons continually observed A. D. 1585.
 “ amongst us, and containing matter which tendeth 28 Eliz.
 “ to the slander of this church, as having hitherto
 “ maintained an error.

“ There is likewise now in hand, in the same
 “ house, a bill concerning ecclesiastical courts and
 “ visitations by bishops, which may reach to the
 “ overthrow of ecclesiastical jurisdiction and study
 “ of the civil laws. The pretence of the bill is
 “ against excessive fees and exactions in ecclesias-
 “ tical courts; which fees are none other than have
 “ been of long time accustomed to be taken, the
 “ law already established providing a sharp and
 “ severe punishment for such as shall exceed the
 “ same; besides an order also, which we at this pre-
 “ sent have taken amongst ourselves, for the better
 “ performance thereof.

“ I therefore most humbly beseech your majesty
 “ to continue your gracious goodness towards us,
 “ who with all humility submit ourselves to your
 “ highness, and cease not daily to pray for your
 “ happy estate, and long and prosperous reign over
 “ us.

[“ From Lambeth, the 24th of March, 1584.]

“ Your Majesty’s chaplain, and

“ daily orator most bounden,

“ JOHN CANTUAR.”

Thus the old year (on the last day whereof this letter was dated) ended sadly and suspiciously with the prelates; but the next year began cheerfully, and presented good tidings unto them.

25. For the queen, to verify her motto, *semper* Her ma-
eadem, and to disprove that inconstancy generally jesty will
alter no-

A D 1585 charged on her sex, acquitted herself more than
 28 Eliz
 thing mate- woman in her masculine resolutions, and nothing of
 rial to moment was altered in church discipline; many
 church go- things, indeed, were offered to both houses, debated,
 vernment. agitated, and, as it seems, passed the commons, but
 nothing in fine was effected. Thus the major may
 propound what it pleaseth, and the minor assume
 what it listeth; but no conclusive argument could
 then be framed without the *ergo* of the royal assent,
 which the queen refused to affix to any material
 alteration ^z.

Parliament
 dissolved

26. And a few days after, the session of the parlia-
 ment for the present broke off, wherewith ended the
 assembly of the ministers; and now all of them had
 leave to depart to their own homes, otherwise such
 members thereof as formerly went away without
 leave were obnoxious to censure: witness one of
 them in his ingenious confession, "Touching my
 " departure from that holy assembly without leave,
 " &c., I crave pardon both of you and them, &c. ;
 " and thus commending this holy cause to the Lord
 " himself, and your godly council to the president
 " thereof, I take my leave ^a."

John Hil-
 ton in con-
 vocation
 abjureth
 his here-
 tical opi-
 nions.

27. The next day the convocation ended, having
 effected nothing of moment, save that in the ninth
 session thereof John Hilton, priest, made a solemn
 abjuration of his blasphemous heresies, according to
 the tenor ensuing ^b :

^z [See the speech she made to the parliament at the close of the session. Strype's Whitgift, p. 199.]

^a Mr. Gelibrand to Mr. Field, 29th Nov 1584, cited by bishop Bancroft in his English Scot-

tizing, &c p. 75

^b [See the proceedings of this convocation in Strype's Whitgift, p 210, and Wilkins' Conc. IV. p. 306. The accounts of these writers differ slightly from that of Fuller.]

“ *In Dei nomine*, Amen. Before you, most reve- A. D. 1585.
28 Eliz.
 “ rend father in God, lord John archbishop of Can-
 “ terbury, primate and metropolitan of all England,
 “ and the reverend fathers in God, the bishops of
 “ this your province of Canterbury, here congregated
 “ and assembled together in this holy synod and
 “ convocation; I, John Hilton, priest, of my pure
 “ heart and free will, voluntarily and sincerely know-
 “ ledge, confess, and openly recognise that in times
 “ past I thought, believed, said, held, and presump-
 “ tuously affirmed and preached the errors, heresies,
 “ blasphemies, and damnable opinions following,
 “ &c.” ^c

Here he distinctly read a schedule containing his heresies, (which what they were may be collected by that which ensueth,) and then proceeded as followeth :

“ Wherefore I, the said John Hilton, detesting
 “ and abhorring all and every such my said heresies,
 “ blasphemies, and damned opinions, willing and
 “ with all my power affecting hereafter firmly to
 “ believe in the true and perfect faith of Christ and
 “ his holy church, purposing to follow the doctrine
 “ of Christ and his holy apostles, with a pure and
 “ free heart, voluntary mind, will, and intent, utterly
 “ forsake, relinquish, renounce, and despise the said
 “ detestable errors, heresies, blasphemies, and abo-
 “ minable opinions.

“ Granting and confessing that the blessed Trinity
 “ consisteth in three distinct persons and one God-

^c This was by me faithfully transcribed out of the Records of Canterbury

A.D. 1585. " head: as God the Father, God the Son, and God
 28 l 12 " the Holy Ghost, coequal in power and might.

" Secondly, that Jesus Christ is both God and
 " man, and my Saviour and Redeemer, and of all
 " others baptized and believing in Him; who of His
 " Father of His own substance in His humanity was
 " conceived by the Holy Ghost, incarnate, and for
 " our redemption, being very God, became man.

" And that by the death of Jesus Christ we be
 " not only made partakers of His testament, and so
 " deduced to the knowledge of His godly will and
 " power, but also that we have full redemption and
 " remission of our sins in His blood.

" And where I did most ungodly, detestably, and
 " blasphemously affirm that the Old and New Tes-
 " taments were fables, now, being most sorry for
 " that abominable and damnable assertion, I do most
 " humbly and ———^d believe the same Testaments
 " to contain all truths necessary to salvation, and
 " that I and all others are bound to believe the
 " same as the undoubted word of God, and that
 " without that I cannot be saved.

" And therefore the said errors, blasphemies, and
 " all other heresies, false doctrines, and damned
 " opinions in general, contrary and repugnant to
 " the faith of Christ, I utterly abjure, forsake, and
 " purely renounce, before you, most reverend father
 " in God, and the rest of this holy synod here
 " assembled. And moreover I swear by this holy
 " evangelist, by me here bodily touched, that from
 " henceforth I shall never hold, teach, believe, or

^d Here the record is so ill written, that this word is not legible

“ affirm the said errors, heresies, blasphemies, or A. D. 1585.
28 Eliz.
 “ damned opinions, or any other against, contrary,
 “ or repugnant to the holy faith of Christ’s church;
 “ nor yet shall I, by myself or any other person,
 “ privately or apertly defend, maintain, succour, fa-
 “ vour, or support any person that to my knowledge
 “ holdeth, believeth, affirmeth, or teacheth any such
 “ heresies, errors, or damned opinions. So help me
 “ God, and these holy evangelists. In witness
 “ whereof to this my present abjuration and renun-
 “ ciation, I have with my own hand voluntarily
 “ subscribed my proper name.

“ JOHN HILTON.”

28. Upon this his abjuration, penance was imposed Penance
imposed
upon him.
 on him, first, that he should attend at Paul’s Cross
 upon the preacher, Sunday next, all the time of the
 sermon, and there penitently stand before the said
 preacher with a fagot on his shoulders; secondly,
 that he should not preach, minister sacraments, nor
 exercise any ecclesiastical function in the church,
 except specially licensed by the archbishop there-
 unto; thirdly, that he should recant the said here-
 sies and damnable opinions in the church of St.
 Martin’s in the Fields, at a sermon there to be made
 by the archdeacon, and there to shew himself very
 penitent. I find in the records a recognisance of
 five hundred pounds drawn up to the queen, whereby
 the said Hilton bound himself for the performance
 hereof; but because the rude draught of the bond
 is crossed, I conceive it not insisted on, and (finding
 nothing to the contrary) presume the aforesaid
 penance by him exactly performed.

29. The ministers or brethren, now missing their Exchange
of import-

A. D. 1585. mark, abated much of their former activity, inso-
 28 Elz. much as that Mr. Cartwright (whom I conjecture
 ant letters betwixt the the president mentioned in the last assembly) began
 earl of Lei- to make, by the mediation of the earl of Leicester,
 cester and (who now designed him master of his new-built
 the arch- hospital in Warwick,) compliance with Whitgift;
 bishop. though the wary archbishop, not over-fond of his
 friendship, kept him at distance, as these two letters
 here inserted will sufficiently inform us ^e:

“ My good Lord ^t,

“ I most heartily thank you for your favourable
 “ and courteous usage of Mr. Cartwright, who hath
 “ so exceeding kindly taken it also, as I assure your
 “ grace he cannot speak enough of it. I trust it
 “ shall do him a great deal of good. And he pro-
 “ testeth and professeth to me to take no other
 “ course but to the drawing of all men to the unity
 “ of the church; and that your grace hath so dealt
 “ with him, as no man shall so command him and
 “ dispose of him as you shall; and doth mean to
 “ let his opinion publickly be known, even in the
 “ pulpit, if your grace so permit him, what he him-
 “ self will and would all others should do for obe-

^e [Upon Cartwright's return from the Low Countries, where he had officiated during five years to some English factories, officers were sent to apprehend him as a mover of sedition and a turbulent person. During his confinement the archbishop behaved with much kindness to him. Upon a promise to conform, it is probable that he was dismissed by the influence of the archbishop,

though a license to preach was still refused him. Upon this occasion these letters are written, which are in part printed in Strype's Whitgift, p 225. Cartwright, however, was a conformist only in appearance. See Strype's Annals, III. 470.]

^f Taken out of the manuscript of bishop Whitgift's Letters, belonging to sir Peter Manwood, and since in my possession.

“ dience to the laws established. And if any little ^{A.D. 1585.}
 “ scruple be, it is not great, and easy to be reformed ^{28 Eliz.}
 “ by your grace, whom I do most heartily entreat
 “ to continue your favour and countenance towards
 “ him, with such access sometimes as your leisure
 “ may permit; for I perceive he doth much desire
 “ and crave it.

“ I am to thank your grace also very heartily for
 “ Mr. Fenne, albeit I understand he is something
 “ more opiniate than I wish him; but I trust he
 “ will also yield to all reasons. And I mean to deal
 “ with the bishop of Coventry and Lichfield [§], to
 “ make some trial of him; for surely he is an honest
 “ man. Thus, my good lord, praying to God to
 “ bless his church, and to make his servants constant
 “ and faithful, I bid your grace farewell.

“ At the court, this 14th July.

“ Your Grace’s very assured Friend,

“ R. LEICESTER.”

“ My singular good Lord,

“ Master Cartwright shall be welcome to me at
 “ all times; and using himself quietly as becometh
 “ him, and as I hope he will, he shall find me willing
 “ to do him any good. But to grant unto him as
 “ yet my license to preach, without longer trial, I
 “ cannot, especially seeing he protesteth himself to
 “ be of the same mind he was at the writing of his
 “ book, for the matter thereof, though not for the
 “ manner. Myself also, I thank God, not altered in
 “ any point by me set down to the contrary, and
 “ knowing many things to be very dangerous;

§ [William Overton.]

A.D. 1585. “wherefore notwithstanding I am content, and ready
 28 Eliz. “to be at peace with him, so long as he liveth
 “peaceably; yet doth my conscience and duty for-
 “bid me to give unto him any further public appro-
 “bation, until I be better persuaded of his con-
 “formity. And so, being bold to use my accustomed
 “plainness with your lordship, I commit you to the
 “tuition of Almighty God, this 17th of July, 1585.

“JOHN CANTUAR.”

Seminaries
 enlarged
 and trans-
 ported

30. Seminaries and priests to the number of thirty-two, late prisoners in the Tower, Marshalsea, King’s Bench, and other places, were pardoned, enlarged, and transported over into Normandy, though occasionally they were forced to land at Boulogne^h.

31. The earl of Leicester, who hitherto had done but little good in England, went now over to do less in the Low Countries, commanding a great army and name, with the illustrious title of general of the auxiliaries of the queen of England. He was not so much pleased with his place there, but that some of his back-friends were as much delighted with his room here. Meantime the ministers lost the best stake in their hedge, in his absence, their patron paramount; for though by letters he might solicit their cause, yet the greatest strength is not so extensive but to have the virtue thereof abated at such a distance. And afterwards it fared worse with the ministers, when Whitgift, archbishop of Canterbury, was sworn of the privy council, (an honour which his predecessor Grindal never obtained, yea,

^h [See Sanders, *De Schismate Angl.* p. 359.]

never desired,) by the procurement, it is believed, of A. D. 1585.
the lord Burghley¹. 28 Eliz.

32. Now, for the present, I will trouble the reader no longer with these brawls about discipline; only one story must not be omitted, though it be fathered rather on public report than fixed on any particular author in those days avowing the same. Some complained against the Liturgy to the lord Burghley, of whom he demanded "whether they desired the taking away thereof?" They answered, "No; but only the amendment of what was offensive therein." He required them to make a better, such as they would have settled in the stead thereof. Whereupon,

The first classis framed a new one, somewhat according to the form of Geneva.

The second classis, disliking it, altered it in six hundred particulars^k.

The third quarrelled at these alterations, and resolved on a new model.

The fourth classis dissented from the former.

Thus, because they could not agree amongst themselves, that wise statesman put them off for the present, until they should present him a pattern with a perfect consent.

33. Three protestant bishops this year exchanged this life for another: the first was Richard Curteys¹, Accusa-
tions not to
be believed
in full lati-
tude.

¹ [See sir G. Paule's Life of Whitgift, §. 57. Strype's Whitgift, p. 247.]

^k See the View of the New Directory, [by Dr. H. Hammond,] printed at Oxford, 1645, p. 3.

¹ [He died in the month of

August, 1582, according to the notes in the new edition of Godwin, De Præsul. Angl. p. 513; yet Strype fixes his death (though with some hesitation) to 27th Feb. 1584 = 1585 Life of Whitgift, p. 242. Annals,

A.D. 1585. (sometimes fellow of St. John's in Cambridge,) bishop
 28 Eliz of Chichester; the second, Nicholas Robinson^m,
 bishop of Bangor; and John Scory, bishop of Hereford. Of the two former we have not enough to furnish out their character; of the latter too much, if all be true which I find charged upon him. Sure I am he began very well, being an exile and confessor in the days of queen Mary, but is accused afterwards to be so guilty of oppressions, extortions, and simonies, that a bill was put up against him in the Star-chamber, containing matter enough not only to disgrace, but degrade him, if prosecuted. But he bought out his innocence with his money. Here know that our authorⁿ, though a person of wit and worship, deriveth his intelligence from a French writer disaffected in religion, and therefore not to be believed in full latitude when calling him Scoria, or dross, in allusion to his name; but as "all is not gold that glisters," all is not dross reputed so by our popish adversaries.

The death
 of John
 Fecken-
 ham.

34. The same year also John Feckenham, late abbot of Westminster, ended his life; whereon we

III. 331. Probably both Fuller and Strype had no other reason for fixing the date of his death so low than from seeing that Bickley, his successor, was consecrated in 1585.

Curteys was the author of several minor pieces, which are mentioned in Wood's account of him See Athen. I. 697.]

^m [He was domestic chaplain to Matthew Parker, archbishop of Canterbury, who has left on record an honourable testimony in his favour. See Antiq. Brit p. 547 Anthony

Wood places his death a year earlier. Athen. I. 696.]

ⁿ Sir John Harington, Nugæ, II. p. 176 [Hence the Romanists said of him that he professed to be a great enemy to idolatry, yet in another sense, according to St. Paul, he became a worshipper of images, not saints, but *angels*, alluding to the coin of that name. Wood's Athen. I. 682. Harington, ib. He was, apparently, a severe antagonist to the papists See Strype's Ann, III. 328]

must enlarge ourselves, if not for his, for history's A. D. 1585.
sake, seeing he was a landmark therein; his personal 28 Eliz.
experience being a chronicle, who, like the axletree,
stood firm and fixed in his own judgment, whilst the
times, like the wheels, turned backwards and for-
wards round about him. He was born in Worces-
tershire, in the forest of Feckenham, whence he
fetched his name^o; bred a Benedictine monk in the
abbey of Evesham, where he subscribed, with the
rest of his order, to the resignation of that house
into the hands of king Henry the Eighth. After-
wards he studied in Oxford; then applied himself
first to Bell, bishop of Worcester, and, after his
death, to Bonner of London; where he crossed the
proverb, "Like master, like man," the patron being
cruel, the chaplain kind, to such who in judgment
dissented from him. He never dissembled his reli-
gion, being a zealous papist; and under king Edward
the Sixth suffered much for his conscience.

35. In the reign of queen Mary he was wholly His cour-
employed in doing good offices for the afflicted pro- testants to pro-
testants, from the highest to the lowest. The earl
of Bedford^p, and (who afterwards were) of Warwick^q
and Leicester^r, tasted of his kindness; so did sir
John Cheke; yea, and the lady Elizabeth herself, so
interposing his interest with queen Mary for her
enlargement that he incurred her grace's displeasure.
Hence it is that papists complain that in the reign

^o [His right name, however,
was Howman. See Wood's
Athen. I. 221. Many notices
respecting him will be found
in Reyner's *Historia Benedict*
in Anglia, p. 233.]

^p [Francis Russell, second
earl.]

^q [Ambrose Dudley, created
earl of Warwick in 1567.]

^r [Sir Robert Dudley, cre-
ated earl of Leicester in 1563.]

A. D. 1585. of queen Elizabeth he reaped not a crop of courtesy
 28 Eliz. proportionable to his large seed thereof in the days
 of queen Mary.

Made ab-
 bot of
 Westmin-
 ster.

36. Queen Mary afterwards preferred him, from being dean of Paul's, to be abbot of Westminster, which church she erected and endowed for Benedictine monks, of which order fourteen only could be found in England then extant since their dissolution, which were unmarried, unpreferred to cures, and unaltered in their opinions^s. These also were brought in, with some difficulty at first, and opposition; for the prebendaries of Westminster, legally settled in their places, would not resign them till cardinal Pole, partly by compulsion, partly by compensation, obtained their removal.

Queen Elizabeth
 sendeth for
 him and
 proffers
 him prefer-
 ment

37. Queen Elizabeth, coming to the crown, sent for abbot Feckenham to come to her, whom the messenger found setting of elms in the orchard of Westminster Abbey; but he would not follow the messenger till first he had finished his plantation, which his friends impute to his soul employed in mystical meditations^t, that as the trees he there set should spring and sprout many years after his decease, so his new plantation of Benedictine monks in Westminster should take root and flourish, in defiance of all opposition; which is but a bold conjecture of others at his thoughts. Sure I am those monks long since are extirpated, but how his trees thrive at this day is to me unknown. Coming afterwards to the queen, what discourse passed betwixt them they themselves knew alone: some have confidently guessed she proffered him the archbishopric

^s Sanders de Schismate Ang.
 p. 259, ed. 1588.

^t Reynerus de Antiq. Bened.
 p. 235.

of Canterbury on condition he would conform to her laws, which he utterly refused.

A.D. 1585.
28 Eliz.

38. In the treaty between the protestants and papists, *primo Elizabethæ*, he was present, but in what capacity I cannot satisfy myself; surely more than a disputant, (amongst whom he was not named,) yet not so much as a moderator; and yet his judgment (perchance because abbot, and so principal man in that place) was asked with respect and heard with reverence ^u, his moderation being much commended. Now although he was often confined, (sometimes to the Tower, sometimes to friends' houses ^x, and died, it seems, at last, in restraint in Wisbich Castle,) yet generally he found fair usage from the protestants. He built a conduit in Holborn and a cross in Wisbich, and relieved the poor wheresoever he came; so that flies flock not thicker about spilt honey than beggars constantly crowded about him ^y.

Kindly
used in re-
straint.

39. Abbot Feckenham thus being dead, the English Benedictines beyond the seas began to bestir themselves, as they were concerned, about the con-

A recruit
of English
Benedic-
tines made
after Feck-
enham's
death.

^u Fox, Acts and Mon. III. [979, sq.]

^x [At first he was committed to the custody of Dr. Goodman, dean of Winchester; but afterwards, through the means of bishop Grindal, transferred to Horn, bishop of Winton, and the rather because Grindal had heard Horn say "that if he should have any, he could best deal with Feckenham, having in king Edward's days taken some pains with him in the Tower, and brought him to subscribe

"to all things saving the pre-
sence and one or two Arti-
cles more." However, Horn soon became weary of the abbot, and some controversy arose between them. See Strype's Grindal, 79.]

^y [A very interesting and detailed account of Feckenham will be found in Reyner's Hist. Benedictinor. p. 232, sq., and in Wood's Athen. I. 221, who is indebted to Reyner for most of his information respecting Feckenham.]

A.D. 1585.
28 Eliz. — continuation of their order. We know some maintain, that if any one species or kind of creatures be utterly extinct, the whole universe, by sympathy therewith, and consciousness of its own imperfection, will be dissolved. And the catholics suspected what a sad consequence there would be if this ancient order of English black monks should suffer a total and final defection. The best was, *unus homo nobis*, there was one, and but one, monk left, namely, father Sigebert Buckley; and therefore, before his death, provision was made for others to succeed him; and they, for fear of failing, disposed in several countries in manner following:

In Rome.

i. Father Gregory Sayer. ii. Father Thomas Preston. iii. Father Anselm, of Manchester. iv. Father Anthony Martin, commonly called Athanasius.

In Valladolid in Spain.

i. Father Austin St. John. ii. Father John Mer-
vin. iii. Father Mark Lambert. iv. Father Mau-
rice Scot. v. Father George Jervis^z.

From these nine new Benedictines the whole order, which hung formerly on a single string, was then replenished to a competent, and since to a plentiful number.

English pa-
pists why
they fell off
from the
queen of
Scots.

40. Hitherto our English papists affectionately leaned (not to say fondly doted) on the queen of Scots, promising themselves great matters from her towards the advancing of their religion; but now

^z Reynerus de Antiq. Benedict. p 242.

they began to fall off in their affections, partly A. D. 1585.
28 Eliz. because beholding her a confined person, (unable to free herself, and more unlikely to help others,) partly because all catholics come off with loss of life which practised her enlargement. As for her son, the king of Scots, from whom they expected a settlement of popery in that land, their hopes were lately turned into despairs, who had his education on contrary principles.

41. Whereupon hereafter they diverted their eyes Unto the
king of
Spain. from the north to the west, expecting (contrary to the course of nature) that their sun should rise therein, in magnifying the might of the king of Spain, and his zeal to propagate the Roman catholic faith. And this was the practice of all Jesuits, to possess their English proselytes with high opinions of the Spanish power, as the nation designed by Divine Providence to work the restitution of their religion in England.

42. In order hereunto, and to hearten their coun- Pretending
a title to
the crown
of England trymen, some (for it appears the result of several persons employed in the designing and effecting thereof) drew up a title of the king of Spain's to the English crown, as much admired by their own party as slighted by the queen and her loyal subjects, for being full of falsehoods and forgeries. Indeed it is easy for any indifferent herald so to derive a pedigree as in some seeming probability to entitle any prince in Christendom to any principality in Christendom; but such will shrink on serious examination. Yea, I believe queen Elizabeth might pretend a better title to the kingdoms of Leon and Castile in Spain (as descended by the house of York, from Edmund earl of Cambridge and his lady, co-

A.D. 1585. heir to king Peter) than any claim that the king of Spain could make out to the kingdom of England. However much mischief was done hereby, many papists paying their good wishes where they were not due, and defrauding the queen, their true creditor, of the allegiance belonging unto her.

An act
without
precedent.

43. Now did the queen summon a parliament ^a,

^a [See D'Ewes' Journal, pp. 375, 391. Strype's Whitgift, p. 256. The parliament began on the 29th of October, 1586, and was dissolved on the 23rd of March, 1587. The next parliament began on the 4th of February, 1589, and ended on the 29th of March the same year. "This new parliament," says D'Ewes, "assembled on "Saturday the 29th day of "October, 1586, immediately after ensuing; at which "time the queen came not to "the upper house in person, "but was represented by three "commissioners, [viz the arch- "bishop, the lord treasurer, "and lord steward,] not, as "her majesty afterwards professed, because she feared "the violence of any assassin, "but because she abhorred to "be an hearer of so foul and "unnatural a conspiracy, plotted against her by the Scottish queen, a kinswoman so "near her highness."

But as to the quietness of the nonconformists, Fuller is much mistaken; for during this very parliament a most strange and bigoted motion was made by one of their organs. The reader shall have it in D'Ewes' own words.

"The same day [sc. Monday, "27th Feb. 1587] Mr. Cope, "first using some speeches "touching the necessity of a "learned ministry and the "amendment of things amiss "in the ecclesiastical estate, "offered to the house a bill, "and a book written, the bill "containing a petition that it "might be enacted, *That all "laws now in force touching ecclesiastical government "should be void; and that it "might be enacted, That that "Book of Common Prayer now "offered, and none other, might "be received into the church to "be used.* The book contained "the form of prayer and administration of sacraments, "with divers rites and ceremonies to be used in the church; "and desired that the book "might be read. Whereupon "Mr. Speaker, in effect, used "this speech. 'For that her "majesty before this time had "commanded the house not to "meddle with this matter, and "that her majesty had promised to take order in those "causes, he doubted not but "to the good satisfaction of all "her people; he desired that it "would please them to spare "the reading of it. Notwith-

wherein her majesty appeared not in person, but A.D. 1587.
30 Eliz. passed over the presidentship of that her great council unto John Whitgift, archbishop of Canterbury, William Cecil, lord treasurer, and to the earl of Derby^b: a thing done without precedent, when the king at home and in health; but the pleasure of so powerful a princess might create a leading case in things of this nature.

44. Wonder not if the nonconformists were very quiet in this parliament, beholding the archbishop their great adversary in so great power and place. Good reason why the nonconformists were quiet. However their activity in the next will make their party amends for their stillness in this session.

45. This year ended the doleful life of a distressed lady, Mary queen of Scots, whose trial and death The death of Mary queen of Scotland. belongeth to the state historian. She was aged forty-six years, passing the last twenty in imprisonment; one of a sharp wit, undaunted spirit, comely person, beautiful face, majestic presence: one reason why queen Elizabeth declined (what the other so much desired) a personal conference with her, as

“standing the house desired
“the reading of it. Where-
“upon Mr. Speaker willed
“the clerk to read it. And
“the Court being ready to read
“it, Mr. Dalton made a mo-
“tion against the reading of
“it, saying that it was not
“meet to be read, and that it
“did appoint a new form of
“administration of the sacra-
“ments and ceremonies of the
“church, to the discredit of the
“Book of Common Prayer,
“and of the whole state; and
“thought that this dealing

“would bring her majesty’s
“indignation against the house
“thus to enterprise the deal-
“ing with those things which
“her majesty especially had
“taken into her own charge
“and direction. Whereupon
“Mr. Lewknor spake, shewing
“the necessity of preaching
“and of a learned ministry,
“and thought it very fit that
“the petition and the book
“should be read.” D’Ewes’
Journals, p 410.]

^b [Henry Stanley.]

A D. 1587. unwilling to be either outshone or even-shone in
30 Eliz. her own hemisphere. For her morals, the belief of moderate men embraceth a middle course betwixt Buchanan his aspersing and Causinus his hyperbolical commending her, because zealous in his own religion.

Her poetry. 46. She was an excellent poet, both Latin and English; of the former I have read a distich made and written by her own hand on a pane of glass at Buxton Well :

*" Buxtona quæ calidæ celebraris^c nomine lymphæ,
 " Forte mihi posthac non adeunda, vale "*

" Buxton, who dost with waters warm excel,
 " By me, perchance, never more seen, farewell !"

And at Fotheringhay Castle I have read, written by her in a window with a pointed diamond,

" From the top of all my trust,
 " Mishap hath laid me in the dust."

But her adversaries conceive, had she not been laid there, the happiness of England had been prostrated in the same place. She was buried in the quire of Peterborough, and doctor Wickham, bishop of Lincoln, preached her funeral sermon^d, causelessly carped at by the Martin Mar-prelate, as too favourable concerning her final condition, though he uttered nothing inconsistent with charity and Christian discretion.

Her body removed to Westminster.

47. Some twenty years after, king James caused

^c So it is in the glass I had in my hand, though it be *celebrabere* in Camd Brit in Derbyshire. ^d [See Gunton's History of Peterborough, and Wood's Athen. I 712.]

her corpse to be solemnly removed from Peterbo-^{A. D. 1587.}
rough to Westminster, where, in the south side of 30 Eliz.
the chapel of king Henry the Seventh, he erected a
stately monument to her memory, and thereon this
epitaph, wherein such cannot but commend the
piety of her son who will not believe all the praises
of his mother :

“ D. O. M.

“ Mariæ Stuartæ, Scotorum Regina, Franciæ Do-
“ taria, Jacobi V. Scotorum Regis Filia et Hæredis
“ unicæ, Henrici VII. Ang. Regis ex Margareta
“ majori Natu Filia (Jacobi IIII. Regi Scotorum
“ matrimonio copulata) proneptis, Edwardi IIII.
“ Angliæ Regis ex Elizabetha Filiarum natu maxima
“ abneptis, Francisci II. Gallorum Regis conjugis,
“ Coronæ Angliæ, dum vixit, certæ et indubitatæ
“ hæredis, et Jacobi magnæ Britanniæ monarchæ
“ potentissimi matris.

“ Stirpe vere regia et antiquissima prognata erat,
“ maximis totius Europæ principibus agnatione et
“ cognatione conjuncta, et exquisitissimis animi et
“ corporis dotibus et ornamentis cumulatissima. Ve-
“ rum, ut sunt variæ rerum humanarum vices, post-
“ quam annos plus minus viginti in custodia detenta,
“ fortiter et strenue, (sed frustra,) cum malevolorum
“ obtrectationibus, timidorum suspicionibus, et ini-
“ micorum capitalium insidiis conflictata esset ; tan-
“ dem inaudito et infesto Regibus exemplo securi
“ percutitur.

“ Et contempto mundo, devicta morte, lassato
“ carnifice, Christo Servatori animæ salutem, Ja-
“ cobo Filio spem regni et posteritatis, et universis
“ cædis infaustæ spectatoribus exemplum patientiæ

A. D. 1587. “commendans, pie et intrepide Cervicem regiam
 30 Eliz. “securi maledictæ subjecit, et vitæ caducæ sortem
 “cum cœlestis regni perennitate commutavit.”

Besides this, there is a long inscription in verses, one distich whereof I remember, because it is the same in effect with what was made of Maud the empress.

On Maud.

“*Magna ortu, majorque viro, sed maxima partu,*
 “*Hic jacet Henrici filia, sponsa, parens.*”

On Queen Mary.

“*Magna viro, major natu, sed maxima partu,*
 “*Conditur hic regis filia, sponsa, parens* *.”

So that it is no disgrace for a queen to wear part of an epitaph at the second hand, with some little alteration.

A design
 propound-
 ed,

48. About this time it was that some privy councillors endeavoured to persuade queen Elizabeth to raise and foment a difference betwixt the pope and king of Spain, and to assist the former (not as pope, but temporal prince) by her shipping to regain Naples, detained from him by the Spanish king. They alleged the design advantageous, to work a diversion of Spanish forces, and prevent an invasion of her own land.

* [These are two of the concluding verses of Henry earl of Northampton's exquisite elegy upon Mary queen of Scots, a correct copy of which is printed in Dr. Nott's edition of Surrey's Poems, p 473. 4to. Lond. 1815. But both the prose inscription and the verses vary much from the copies printed by Fuller.]

49. But her majesty would not listen to the motion to entertain compliance in any capacity on any conditions with the pope, as dishonourable in herself, distasteful to the protestant princes; nor would she touch pitch in jest, for fear of being defiled in earnest, but crushed the design in the birth thereof.

50. A first onset was now made by the nonconformists against the hierarchy; though the more they opposed it, the more the queen did countenance their persons and preserve their power; insomuch that she would not in Lent feed on any fish, as forbidden by the canons of the church, until she had first attained a solemn license from the archbishop of Canterbury, and every year of her life renewed the same ^f.

51. The power of the high commission began now to extend far, and penalties to fall heavy on offenders. Whereupon the favourers of the nonconformists much opposed it in their printed books, some questioning the court as not warranted by law, others taxing their proceedings as exceeding their commission. But hear their arguments on both sides:

Against the High Commission.

For the High Commission.

It is pretended founded on the statute *primo Eli-*

The words in the statute run thus: "They shall have full

^f Camden's Eliz. Manuscript, shortly likely to be printed. [Since printed; which see, in the year 1587. This was usual in this reign, no persons of any seriousness attempting to violate the directions of the church

in this respect. Generally, also, such dispensations for eating meat were granted on condition of certain sums being paid to the poor. See Strype's Whitgift, p. 246.]

A.D. 1587. Against the High Commission.
30 Eliz.

zabethæ, wherein the parliament empowered the queen by her letters patents to appoint commissioners to punish offenders in ecclesiastical causes. But no mention therein of temporal penalties, and therefore the commissioners are to confine themselves to church censures, by excommunicating, &c., illegally inflicting any other punishments.

Such commissioners proceeding against offenders by attachment, fine, or imprisonment, are contrary to the express words of Charta Magna, providing "that no free man shall be taken or imprisoned, or be disseised of his freehold and liberty, and but by the lawful judgment of his peers, or of the law of the land"

Their whole commission is void in law, because it beareth date in July, but was not signed till November next after,

For the High Commission.

"power and authority, by virtue of this act, and of the letters patents under your highness, your heirs and successors, to exercise, use, execute all the premises according to the tenor and effect of the said letters patents, any matter or cause to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding." Now their letters patents enable them to attach, fine, or imprison, &c.; in doing whereof they are sufficiently empowered by the commission.

When Charta Magna was made, ecclesiastical jurisdiction, though it was *de jure*, it was not *de facto*, in the king; whereby it plainly appears that those words related not to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, but only to crimes belonging to the common law. But since the parliament hath declared ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the queen, the ecclesiastical persons might impose such penalties, even to the condemning of heretics, though never tried by a jury.

It appeareth by the preamble of that statute, that the words cannot be stretched to letters patents of that nature, but belong only to such; to private

Against the High Commission.

For the High Commission.

A.D. 1587.
30 Eliz.

contrary to the statute, which enjoyneth that letters patents "should be dated the day of their delivery into Chancery," or else they shall be void.

persons, wherein grantees are unjustly expelled out of their right by colour of letters patents bearing an elder date §.

But the most general exception against the high commission was this : that proceeding, *ex officio mero*, by way of inquiry against such whom they pleased to suspect, they tendered unto them an oath, which was conceived unjust, that in cases criminal a party should be forced to discover what might be penal to himself; the lawfulness of which oath was learnedly canvassed with arguments on both sides.

Against the Oath *ex officio*.

For the Oath *ex officio*.

The common laws have ever rejected and impugned it, never put in ure by any civil magistrate in the land, but as it is corruptly crept in amongst other abuses by

It is true, to give this oath to the defendant in causes of life and death is contrary to the justice of the land; but where life or limb is not concerned, it is usually tendered in chancery, court of requests, council of

§ [Upon this subject generally, see a treatise entitled "An Apology for sundry Proceedings by Jurisdiction Ecclesiastical, of late times by some challenged, and also directly by them impugned." 4to. 1593. Supposed to have been written by Dr. Richard Cosin, vicar-general to archbishop Whitgift, of which book,

and the arguments against the oath *ex officio*, which it was intended to answer, a detailed account will be found in Strype's Whitgift, p. 338. One of the most valuable pamphlets on the subject was written by Edward Lake, chancellor to the bishop of Lincoln, of whom, see Wood's Athen. II 323]

A. D. 1587.
30 Eliz.

Against the Oath *ex*
officio.

the sinister practices and pretences of the Romish prelates and clergymen. And where loss of life, liberty, or good name, may ensue; the common law hath forbidden such oath.

It is contrary to the fundamental law of liberty, *nemo tenetur seipsum prodere*.

It appeareth by the lord Dyer's book that one Hynde, called before the commissioners ecclesiasti-

For the Oath *ex officio*.

marches, and council in the north, yea, in other courts of record at Westminster; where the judges (time out of mind) by corporal oath did examine any person whom, in discretion, they suspected to have dealt lewdly about any writ, return, entry of rule, pleading, or any such-like matter, not being capital.

It is granted, but withal *proditus per denuntiationem, famam, &c. tenetur seipsum offendere*. Some faults are simply secret, no way bruited or published abroad; in which cases the person guilty is not bound to make confession thereof, though urged on his oath to any officer civil or ecclesiastical. But if once discovery be made by presentment, denunciation, fame, &c. according to law, then is not the fault merely secret, but revealed in some sort to the magistrate, or abroad, who for avoiding scandal to Christian religion, and reformation of the party, may thus inquire of the offence, to see it redressed and punished.

There is no such report in the lord Dyer; all that is extant is only this marginal note upon Skrogg's his case in M1-

Against the Oath *ex officio*.

cal for usury, refused to swear; whereupon he was committed. But upon an information in the Common Pleas, he had a *corpus cum causa*, to remove him; so, as it seemeth, the judges were then of opinion that the commissioners could not give him such an oath.

Though such proceedings *ex officio* were practised by the popish prelates against the saints and servants of God, yet it was never used by protestants in their ecclesiastical censures.

The justice of the land detesteth that the judge should himself be an accuser, (for by law no man may be accuser and witness, indicter and juror,

For the Oath *ex officio*.

chaelmas Term, 18th of Elizabeth: *Simile M. 18. fol. per Hynde qui noluit jurare coram justiciariis ecclesiasticis, super articulos pro usura*. Which seems added by some unskilful person, it being improbable so learned a judge would have termed the commissioners *justiciarios ecclesiasticos*. Besides, this cause of Hynde can nowhere else be found.

Certain commissioners (whereof some bishops, some privy counsellors, some civilians, and some judges and common lawyers) in the reign of king Edward the Sixth charged bishop Bonner with a corporal oath *ex officio*, to answer to questions ministered unto him; and for refusal he was pronounced contumaciousⁱ. The like oath in matter criminal and penal was tendered to Stephen Gardiner^k, as appeareth by the sentence of his deprivation of the bishopric of Winchester.

The laws civil and ecclesiastical hold not the judge proceeding of office to be an accuser; but that whereupon the inquiry is grounded to represent the accusation.

A. D. 1587.
30 Eliz.

ⁱ Fox, &c. II. p. 681, 694.

^k Fox, &c. II. p. 738.

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30 Eliz.

Against the Oath *ex*
officio.

For the Oath *ex officio*.

therefore much less judge and accuser,) which notwithstanding he is that tendereth the oath *ex officio*.

Even the heathen Romans were so Christian, that by ancient custom no vestal virgin or flamen of Jupiter¹ was restrained to swear, whereof Plutarch^m rendereth three reasons: first, because an oath is a kind of torture to a free man; secondly, it is absurd, in smaller matters, not to credit their words, who in higher matters, touching God, are believed; thirdly, an oath, in case they were fore-sworn, draweth a curse on them, a detestable omINATION towards the priests of God. And why may not as much be allowed to the true ministers of the gospel?

The scripture, which ought to be the rule of our actions, affords neither precepts nor precedent of such proceedings, where witnesses were produced,

By the granting of this peculiar privilege to these persons, it plainly appeareth that all others might by magistrates be put to their oaths. Besides, such were superstitiously freed from swearing absolutely, and not only in matters criminal, here controverted; an unreasonable immunity, which none will challenge to themselves.

It is not necessary that a positive or affirmative warrant be cited out of scripture for all our practices: sufficeth it that may be done which is not contrary to God's word and conformable

¹ Gellius, lib. x. cap. 15

^m Plutarch, Problems, 43.

Against the Oath *ex*
officio.

For the Oath *ex officio*.

A. D. 1587.
30 Eliz.

and the accusers brought
face to face.

to the politic laws of the land.
Yet have we some footsteps of
inquiry in the judicial law.
When one was found secretly
murdered in the field, and the
murderer neither known nor
suspected, the elders of the next
city (of whose guiltiness there
was no detection nor cause of
presumption, save only the
vicinage and nearness of the
place) were solemnly and se-
cretly to swear before the
priestⁿ, *conceptis verbis*, that
their hands had not shed this
blood, &c. If this was equal
in matters capital, how can it
be challenged for tyrannical in
matters criminal?

William Tindal, a wor-
thy martyr, in his Com-
ment on the fifth of Mat-
thew^o, saith plainly, that
“a judge ought not to
“compel a man to swear
“against himself.”

No protestant church
beyond the seas hath
made use of such tyran-
nical proceedings.

Allowing all due respect to
Tindal's memory, his judgment
much failed him in matters of
oaths; for in the following
words he taketh away all ne-
cessary oaths, and leaveth none
but voluntary, which no wise
man will defend.

Even Geneva itself doth
sometimes proceed by oaths *ex*
officio against such suspected
offenders, as in the two follow-
ing cases will appear.

ⁿ Deut. xxi. 7.

^o P. 208.

A.D. 1587.
30 Eliz.

There was one Cumperel of Geneva ordained minister for a parish in that territory, called Dral-
lian, who had a secret design under hand to place himself in the state of Berne, which in him was esteemed a heinous fault. The consistory, coming at some notice hereof, ministered unto him an oath of *mere office* to answer to several questions. But because Cumperel answered not directly to those interrogatories (two whereof concerned the very cogitations of his heart,) and because there were *vehementia judiciorum*, great presumption in the common fame, the consistory pronounced that they had just cause to depose him from his ministry^p.

A memo-
rable story
in Geneva.

52. There was a wealthy widow living in Geneva, called Balthazar, in whose house there was a dancing held, which is a grievous crime in that church, and condemned by their last form of discipline. Amongst these dancers one was a syndic, (one of the four chief magistrates of the city,) the other an elder (Henrich by name) of the church for that year. The matter coming to Calvin's ear, they were all convened before the consistory, without any accuser or party, and therefore of *mere office* put to their corporal oaths to confess the truth. The elder pleaded for himself the words of St. Paul, *receive not an accusation against an elder under two or three witnesses*^q; which would nothing bestead him, so that he was deposed from his eldership, and the syndic from his magistracy, until he should shew some public testimony of his repentance.

First griev-
ance com-

53. But enough of this unwelcome subject; only

^p Inter Epistol. Calvini in fol. pag. 421, 422.

^q Calvin in his Letter to Farel-
lus, Calvini Epist 64.

I must add that some there were, not offended with A.D. 1587.
30 Eliz. the oath itself, which took exceptions at the injurious manner of offering it. They complained (how plained of
in tender-
ing the
oath. justly God knows) of some created fumes on no grounds, and pretended suspicions of crimes against those persons to whom they bare ill affection, and then tendered this oath (the picklock of conscience) unto them, merely to find matter to ensnare them.

54. Secondly, they complained, that to discover Second
grievance. their complices, in their disciplinary assemblies children were on their oaths interrogated against their own fathers, contrary to the rule in civil law, *Filius non torquetur in caput patris*,—"a child ought not "to be tortured in point of peril to his father's life." And although these accusations were not capital, yet, because their parents' credit was so deeply concerned therein, such proceedings had a strong tang of tyranny.

55. Thirdly, the party to whom the oath was Third
grievance. given might not beforehand be acquainted (a favour usually afforded in the Star-Chamber) with the particulars whereon they were to be examined; and if, by the rule of Solomon, *he that answereth a matter before he heareth it, it is shame and folly unto him*^r, much more is it indiscreet to swear to answer a matter before a man hear it.

56. Fourthly, they complained this oath *ex officio* Fourth
grievance (like what is said of black witches) had only power to do mischief, not to heal and help any; for none were cleared by the taking thereof, if denying what was charged upon them; but the judges ecclesias-

^r Prov. xviii 13.

A. D. 1587. tical ofttimes proceeded to a further inquiry by
30 Eliz examination of witnesses on the points denied by
 the parties.

Four ranks
 of refusers
 of this oath

57. The nonconformists who refused to take this oath may be ranked into four forms: first, such as would answer neither yea nor nay what they would resolve to do concerning the oath, but returned, *if our souls be hidden, tarry till the Lord come, and make the counsels of our hearts manifest*^s; but if they be manifest, let our accuser and the witnesses come forth before us.

Second.

58. A second sort refused not the oath in a cause criminal, but did it with this limitation and protestation, that they intended not to be bound thereby to accuse either themselves or their brethren.

Third.

59. A third sort conceived themselves bound to reveal their own and brothers' crimes and offences, "to remove evil from the land," as they said; but as for such actions of their brothers, falsely reputed offences, which were none in the judgment of the party examined, these they held themselves not bound to reveal.

The last
 rank.

60. The last sort, though they took the oath as to other things, yet protested they counted not themselves bound to answer to any such things whereon witnesses may be had; but if the crime was so hidden and secret that witnesses may not be had, they thought they might lawfully be charged. For instance, they held a preacher might not be examined on oath concerning any thing he had preached in public, alleging the words of our Saviour, *Why askest thou me? ask them that heard*

me: *they know what I said*^t. It is hard to make A. D. 1587.
30 Eliz. the opinion of the first and last form to dwell peaceably together.

61. We take our leave of this subject, when we have told the reader that some twenty years since, one being urged by archbishop Laud to take the oath *ex officio*, refused it on this reason: "An oath," saith he, "by the words of the apostle, *is an end of all strife*"^u; whereas this," saith he, "is the beginning of strife, yields matter for the lawyers to molest me." But since the high commission and this oath are taken away by act of parliament, it is to be hoped that, if such swearing were so great a grievance, *nihil analogum*, nothing like unto it (which may amount to as much) shall hereafter be substituted in the room thereof.

62. Let it not here be forgotten, that because many did question the legality and authority of the high commission, archbishop Whitgift so contrived the matter that the most sturdy and refractory non-conformists, especially if they had any visible estates, were brought into the Star-Chamber, the power whereof was above dispute; where some of them, besides imprisonment, had very heavy fines imposed upon them. And because most of the queen's council were present at the censures, this took off the odium from the archbishop, which in the high commission lighted chiefly if not only upon him, and fell almost equally on all present therein.

63. John Fox this year ended his life, to whom in some respect our history of him may resemble The death
of Mr. Fox;

^t John xviii. 21.

^u Heb. vi 16.

A. D. 1587. itself^x; for he in his lifetime was so large a reliever
30 Eliz. of poor people, to and above his estate, that no wonder if at his death, with some charitable churls, he bequeathed no legacies unto them. Thus have we been so bountiful in describing the life and transcribing the letters of this worthy confessor, that the reader will excuse us if at his death we give no farther character of his piety and painfulness. Only let me add, that whereas there passeth a tradition, grounded on good authority, that Mr. Fox foretold the ruin and destruction of the invincible (so called) armado in the eighty-eight, the story is true in itself, though he survived not to see the performance of his own prediction.

64. Nor will it be amiss to insert his epitaph, as we find it on his monument in St. Giles, nigh Cripplegate, in London :

“ Christo S. S.

“ Johanni Foxo Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ martyrologo
 “ fidelissimo, antiquitatis historicæ indagatori sagaci-
 “ cissimo, evangelicæ veritatis propugnatori acerrimo,
 “ thaumaturgo admirabili, qui martyres Marianos,
 “ tanquam phœnices, ex cineribus redivivos præ-
 “ stitit.”

and of Dr.
 Humfrey.

65. His dear friend, Dr. Laurence Humfrey, may be said to die with him, (though his languishing

^x [A very interesting Life of Fox, said to be written by his son Samuel Fox, fellow of Magdalene College in Oxford, is prefixed to the second volume of his Acts and Monuments, ed. 1641. In this Life several instances are given of his exercising what he himself conceived to be the spirit of prophecy. See also Wood's Athen. I. 230.]

life lasted a year longer,) so great his grief to be A. D. 1587.
30 Ehz. parted from his fellow-colleague, bred together in Oxford, and banished together into Germany. But see more of his character in the year 1596, where by mistake (which here I freely confess) his death is inserted.

66. About this time Mr. William Lambert finished The first
protestant
hospital his hospital at Greenwich, founded and endowed by him for poor people. He was the first protestant who erected a charitable house of that nature, as our antiquary observeth^v; though I cannot wholly concur with this observation, seeing king Edward the Sixth founded Christ Church and St. Thomas's Hospital.

67. Indeed now (pardon a short digression) began Beautiful
buildings
begin in
England. beautiful buildings in England, as to the generality thereof, whose homes were but homely before, as small and ill-contrived, much timber being needlessly lavished upon them. But now many most regular pieces of architecture were erected; so that, as one saith, they began to dwell *latius* and *lautius*; but I suspect not *lætius*, hospitality daily much decaying.

68. Amongst other structures, Wimbledon House, in Surrey, was this year begun (and finished the next, as appeareth by an inscription therein) by sir Thomas Cecil, afterward lord Burghley; on the selfsame token that, many years after, Gondomar (treated therein by the lord with a plentiful feast) was highly affected with his entertainment, and much commended the uniformity of the fabric, till

A. D. 1587. the date thereof (shewed unto him) dashed all, as
30 Eliz. built when the Spanish armado was defeated.

Noncon-
formists
stir.

69. Indeed, at this time, there was more uniformity in the buildings than conformity in the church behaviour of men; the sticklers against the hierarchy appearing now more vigorous, though for a time they had concealed themselves.

SECT. VII.

TO
MR. HAMOND WARD, AND MR. RICHARD
FULLER,
OF LONDON, MERCHANTS ^a.

It is usual for the plaintiff to put two or three names upon the same writ, taken out of the upper Bench, (always provided the persons dwell in the same county,) and this is done to save charges. My thanks doth here embrace the same way of thrift, that so the small stock of my History may hold out the better amongst my many friends and favourers. And this my joint Dedication is the more proper, because you live in the same city, are of the same profession, and (if not formerly) this may minister the welcome occasion of your future acquaintance.



UT now a session of parliament was held A.D. 1587.
at Westminster, wherein the House of ^{30 Eliz.}
Commons presented to the lords spiritual and temporal a petition, complaining how many parishes, especially

A sixteen-fold petition presented by the commons to the lords in parliament.

^a [Arms of Ward. A buck passant, proper, collared, lined and ringed, or. This is the crest of the noble family of the Wards of Norfolk; and I cannot help thinking that Fuller has mistaken the crest for the arms. I can find no trace whatever of this person.

Arms of Fuller. Argent. Three bars and a canton gules.

Second son of Bostock Fuller, esq. of Tandridge Court in Surrey, and Frances daughter of Erasmus Gainsford, of Crowhurst, Surrey, esq. A blank for his arms occurs in the MS. Visitation of Middlesex, p. 2. 1664. This is all the information which, after considerable search, I have been able to gain respecting him.]

A. D. 1587. in the north of England and Wales, were destitute
30 Eliz. of preachers, and no care taken to supply them. Sixteen were the particulars, whereof the six first were against insufficient ministers; very earnestly pressing their taking the same into their serious consideration, for speedy redress of the grievances therein contained.

vii. That no oath or subscription might be tendered to any at their entrance into ministry, but such as is expressly prescribed by the statutes of this realm, except the oath against corrupt entering.

viii. That they may not be troubled for omission of some rites or portions prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer.

ix. That they may not be called and urged to answer before the officials and commissaries, but before the bishops themselves.

x. That such as had been suspended or deprived for no other offence, but only for not subscribing, might be restored; and that the bishops would forbear their excommunication, *ex officio mero*, of godly and learned preachers, not detected for open offence of life, or apparent error in doctrine.

xi. That they might not be called before the high commission, or out of the diocese where they lived, except for some notable offence.

xii. That it might be permitted to them, in every archdeaconry, to have some common exercises and conferences amongst themselves, to be limited and prescribed by the ordinaries.

xiii. That the high censure of excommunication may not be denounced or executed for small matters.

xiv. Nor by chancellors, commissaries, or officials,

but by the bishops themselves, with assistance of A. D. 1587.
grave persons. 30 Eliz.

xv. xvi. That non-residency may be quite removed out of the church, or at least that (according to the Queen's Injunctions, Art. 44) no non-resident having already a licence or faculty may enjoy it, unless he depute an able curate, that may weekly preach and catechise, as is required in her majesty's Injunctions.

Of all these particulars the house fell most fiercely on the debate of pluralities, and the effect thereof, non-residents.

2. Archbishop Whitgift pleaded that licences for non-residency were at the present but seldom granted; and yet, in way of recovering health by changing of air, of study for a time in the university, of mortal enmity borne by some in the parish, of prosecution of law, or of being employed in public affairs, they cannot be wholly abrogated; that there were in England four thousand five hundred benefices, with cure, not above ten and most of them under eight pounds in the first-fruits book, which cannot be furnished with able pastors, as the petitioners desire, because of the smallness of their livings. Moreover he affirmed, that whatever was pretended to the contrary, England at that time flourished with able ministers more than ever before—yea, had more than all Christendom besides.

3. The lord Grey rejoined to this assertion of "more learned ministers in the Church of England than ever heretofore—nay, than in all the reformed churches in Christendom," this, "that it was not to be attributed to the bishops or their actions, but to God, who now opened the hearts of many to see into the truth, and that the schools were better observed."

A. D. 1587.
30 Eliz.

The lord-
treasurer
his mode-
ration.

4. The lord-treasurer Burghley, seeming to moderate betwixt them, after a long and learned oration, concluded, "that he was not so scrupulous as absolutely to like of the bill against pluralities, without any exception; for he did favour both learning, and wished a competent reward to it; and therefore could like and allow a learned man to have two benefices, so they were both in one parish, that is to say, in one diocese, and not one in the diocese of Winchester and another in the north, where the several diocesans would have no regard of them; whereas, being both in one diocese, the bishop would look unto them."

Others in-
terpret.

5. Here it was signified that her majesty was acquainted with the matter, and that she was very forward to redress the faults, and therefore required the bishops not to hinder her good and gracious purpose, for that her majesty would confer with them.

The lord
Grey
(quære
whether of
Wilton, or,
what most
probable,
of Ruthen,
afterwards
earl of
Kent)
replied ^l.

6. The lord Grey again said, "he greatly wondered at her majesty, that she would make choice to confer with those who were all enemies to reformation, for that it merely touched their freedom; and therefore he thought it good the house should make choice of some to be joined with them; also he wished the bishops might be served as they were in king Henry the Eighth's days, when, as in the case of *præmunire*, they were all thrust out of doors."

^b [It was, doubtless, the lord Grey of Wilton; for this lord, as Lloyd says, was but a back-friend to bishops, and in all divisions of votes in parliament

or council-table sided with the anti-prelatical party. Worthies, I 477. He was equally distinguished for his misconduct and cruelty in Ireland.]

7. Then the lord-treasurer said, “that the bishops, A. D. 1587.
 “if they were wise, would themselves be humble 30 Eliz.
 “suitors to her majesty to have some of the tem-
 “poral lords joined with them.”

8. The lord-chamberlain utterly disliked the lord Grey’s motion, alleging, “that it was not to be liked
 “of that the lords should appoint her majesty any
 “to confer withal, but that it should be left to
 “her own election.”

9. Matters flying thus high, the archbishop, with The bishops
 the rest of the clergy, conceived it the safest way providently
 to apply themselves by petition to the queen, which petition the
 they presented as followeth :

“To the Queen’s most excellent Majesty.

“The woful and distressed state whereinto we are
 “like to fall forceth us, with grief of heart, in most
 “humble manner to crave your majesty’s most sove-
 “reign protection ; for the pretence being made the
 “maintenance and increase of a learned ministry,
 “when it is thoroughly weighed, decayeth learning,
 “spoileth their livings, taketh away the set form
 “of prayer in the church, and is the means to bring
 “in confusion and barbarism. How dangerous in-
 “novations are in a settled estate, whosoever hath
 “judgment perceiveth. Set dangers apart, yet such
 “great inconveniences may ensue, as will make a
 “state lamentable and miserable. Our neighbours’
 “miseries might make us fearful, but that we know
 “who rules the same. All the reformed churches
 “in Europe cannot compare with England in the
 “number of learned ministers. These benefits of
 “your majesty’s most sacred and careful government
 “with hearty joy we feel, and humbly acknowledge ;

A.D. 1587. 30 Eliz. “senseless are they that repine at it, and careless “who lightly regard it. The respect hereof made “the prophet to say, *Dii estis*. All the faithful and “discreet clergy say, *O Dea certe*—Nothing is im- “possible with God^c. Requests without grounded “reasons are lightly to be rejected. We therefore, “not as directors, but as humble remembrancers, “beseech your highness’ favourable beholding of our “present state, and what it will be in time to come, “if the bill against pluralities should take any “place.”

To the petition were annexed a catalogue of those inconveniences to the state present, state to come, cathedral churches, universities, to her majesty, to religion—in case pluralities were taken away—here too large to be inserted^d. So that, in effect, nothing was effected as in relation to this matter, but things left *in statu quo prius* at the dissolution of this parliament.

The death
of bishop
Barnes;

10. Amongst the mortalities of this year, most remarkable the death of Richard Barnes, bishop of Durham, one commendable in himself, but much suffering for the corruption and viciousness of John Barnes, his brother, and chancellor^e. This bishop was bred in Brasenose College, made suffragan of Nottingham, (the last, I believe, who wore that title,) and behaved himself very gravely in his diocese; a great friend at last to Bernard Gilpin, though at first by some ill instruments incensed

^c [“A Greek sentence,” (observes Strype, who has also printed this letter,) “falsely “and illegibly written in the “copy.” Whitgift, 280.]

^d [These, with the above

petition, are printed in Strype’s Whitgift, p. 280.]

^e Bishop Carleton’s *Life of Bernard Gilpin*, p. 190. [Ful-ler’s *Worthies*, II. 197.]

against him ^f; and seeing they were loving in their ^{A. D. 1587-30 Eliz.} lives, their memories in my book shall not be divided, though I confess the latter died some three years before.

11. This Bernard Gilpin, born of a right worship-^{And of Bernard Gilpin.}ful family, at Kentmire in Westmoreland, had Cuthbert Tunstall, bishop of Durham, for his great-uncle. He was bred first in Queen's College, then Christchurch, in Oxford; and no doubt the prayers of Peter Martyr conduced to his conversion to be a protestant; for he, hearing this Gilpin dispute cordially on the popish party, desired of God that so good affections might not be misguided, and at last obtained his desire.

12. He weathered out the reign of queen Mary,^{Hardly escaped in queen Mary's days.} partly with his travels beyond the seas, (chiefly residing at Louvain and Paris;) partly, after his return, by the favour of his uncle Tunstall, before whom he was often cited, (chiefly about the eucharist,) but was discharged by confessing the real presence, and that the manner thereof transcended his apprehension; Tunstall not enforcing him to the particularity of transubstantiation, as using himself to complain on pope Innocent for defining *de modo* to be an article of faith. However his foes so hardly beset him, that once he ordered his servant to provide for him a long shroud, not for his winding but burning sheet, as expecting at last he should be brought to the stake for his religion. But men may make clothes, either for mirth or for mourning, whilst God alone orders whether or no they shall wear them.

^f [By Hugh Broughton, the celebrated adversary of bishop Bilson, a man whose learning was more than counterbalanced by his violent temper, arrogance, and insubordination. See Carleton's Life of Gilpin, p. 311, ed. Bates.]

A. D. 1587.
30 Eliz.

A single
man, yet a
true father.

13. After the coming of queen Elizabeth to the crown, he with more earnestness refused a bishopric than others affected it. His parsonage at Haughton, as it might seem a bishop's palace for building, so was it no less for hospitality. Fourteen villages belonging to that mother church, the poor whereof (besides many others) were daily relieved at his door; twenty scholars he commonly boarded in his house, which seemed a little college. In a word, he was commonly called father Gilpin, and well deserved it, for his paternal affections to all; making his yearly progress into Rhedesdaie and Tinsdale, in Northumberland, where people sat in darkness of ignorance and shadow of death, and instructing them by his heavenly preaching.

The brave
coming
forth of the
Spanish
armado.

14. Now began that fatal year generally foretold that it would be wonderful, as it proved no less. Whence the astrologers fetched their intelligence hereof, (whether from heaven or hell, from other stars, or from Lucifer alone,) is uncertain: this is most sure, that this prediction, though hitting the mark, yet missed their meaning, who both first reported and most believed it. Out comes their invincible navy and army, perfectly appointed for both elements, water and land, to sail and march complete in all warlike equipage; so that formerly, with far less provision, they had conquered another new world. Mighty was the bulk of their ships, the sea seeming to groan under them, (being a burden to it as they went, and to themselves before they returned,) with all manner of artillery, prodigious in number and greatness; so that the report of their guns does still, and ought ever, to sound in the ears

of the English, not to fright them with any terror, A. D. 1588.
31 Eliz. but to fill them with deserved thankfulness.

15. It is said of Sennacherib, coming against Jerusalem with his numerous army, *by the way that he came shall he return, and shall not come into this city, saith the Lord^h*. The shameful fight and return thereof. As the latter part of this threatening was verified here, (no Spaniard setting foot on English ground under other notion than a prisoner,) so God did not them the honour to return the same way; who, coming by south-east, (a way they knew,) went back by south-west, (a way they sought,) chased by our ships past the fifty-seventh degree of northern latitude, then and there left to be pursued after by hunger and coldⁱ. Thus, having tasted the English valour in conquering them, the Scotch constancy in not relieving them, the Irish cruelty in barbarously butchering them, the small reversion of this great navy which came home might be looked upon by religious eyes as relics, not for the adoration but instruction of their nation hereafter, not to account any thing invincible which is less than infinite.

16. Such as lose themselves by looking on second causes impute the Spanish ill success partly to the prince of Parma, who, either mind-bound or wind-bound, staying himself or stopped by the Hollander, would or could not come to their seasonable succour^k; and partly to the duke of Medina's want of commission to fight with the English, save on the defensive, till joined with Parma. Thus, when God will have a design defeated, amidst the plenty, yea, superfluity of all imaginable necessities, some unus-

^h 1 Kings xix. 33. ⁱ [Somers' Tracts, i. 452.] ^k [Camden, l. l.]

A. D. 1588. ^{31 Eliz.} expected one shall be wanting to frustrate all the rest. We will not mention (save in due distance of helps) the industry and loyalty of the lord Howard¹, (admiral,) the valour of our captains, the skill of our pilots, the activity of our ships; but assign all to the goodness of God, as queen Elizabeth did. Leave we her in the quire of Paul's church, devoutly on her knees, with the rest of her nobles in the same humble posture, returning their unfeigned thanks to the God and giver of all victory, whilst going abroad, we shall find some of her subjects worse employed in implacable enmity about ecclesiastical discipline one against another. And let not the mentioning of this deliverance be censured as a deviation from the Church History of Britain, silence thereof being a sin; for had the design took effect, neither protestant church in Britain had remained, nor history thereof been made at this present.

Scurrilous
pamphlets
dispersed.

17. But bullets did not fly about so much at sea, as bastardly libels by land, so fitly called because none durst father them for their issue. They are known, though not by their parents, by their names:

i. The Epitome. [Written by Penry, and printed by Waldegrave at the house of sir Richard Knightly, at Fausly, 1588.]

ii. The Demonstration of Discipline. [By Udall; printed at Mrs. Crane's house, Mowsely, by Waldegrave.]

iii. The Supplication. [Written by Penry, and printed by Waldegrave at Hale's house. Midlent, 1589.]

¹ [Charles Howard, of Effingham, afterwards earl of Nottingham. See Camden, *ib.*]

iv. Diotrephes. [By Udal, printed by Waldegrave, at Mrs. Crane's house, Mowsely.] A. D. 1588.
31 Eliz.

v. The Minerals. [Printed by Waldegrave, at Hale's house, Coventry, Feb. 1589.]

vi. Have You any Work for the Cooper? [Printed as above, about Palm Sunday, 1588.]

vii. Martin Mar-Prelate, Senior. [By Udal and Penry, printed at Weekston's house, by Hodgkins, Midsummer, 1588.]

viii. Martin Mar-Prelate, Junior. [By Udal and Penry, printed as above.]

ix. More Work for the Cooper, (&c.)^m. [Printed in Newton Lane, Manchester, by Hodgkins.]

The main drift and scope of these pamphlets (for

^m [See an account of these books in Strype's *Whitgift*, pp. 288, 298. *Annals* iii. ap. 262. Many more were published than Fuller has mentioned, but they are too numerous to be particularized within the compass of a note. A very lucid account of the controversy, and of the writers concerned in it, is given by Dr. Heylyn in his *History of the Presbyterians*, p. 283. The chief among them was John Penry, (afterwards condemned and put to death for a libel written against the queen,) a native of Wales, first a subsizer in Peter House, Cambridge, afterwards a commoner in St. Alban's Hall; yet so gross and coarse was the style of these pamphlets, that although many of them were seriously answered by eminent persons, (such as Dr. Cooper and Dr. Bridges,) their authors were not put to shame

until they were met by the same weapons which themselves had first employed. And thus they who had made grave things ridiculous became a ridicule and a jest even among the lowest. Their most dreaded opponent in this their own way of writing was an author of some celebrity, named Thomas Nash, who, about the year 1589, put forth a pamphlet in answer to Martin Mar-Prelate, with the following bantering title:—
"Pappe with an Hatchet, alias, a Fig for my Godson; or, Crack me this Nut; or, a Country Cuff; that is, a sound Box on the Ear for the Idiot Martin to hold his peace. Written by one that dares call a dog a dog. Imprinted by John Anoke, &c.; and are to be sold at the sign of the Crab-tree Cudgel, in Thwack-coat Lane." See Wood's *Athenæ*, I. 261.]

A. D. 1588. know one and know all—these foul-mouthed papers,
31 Eliz. like blackamoors, did all look alike) was to defame and disgrace the English prelates, scoffing at them for their garb, gait, apparel, vanities of their youth, natural defects, and personal infirmities. It is strange how secretly they were printed, how speedily dispersed, how generally bought, how greedily read, yea, and how firmly believed, especially of the common sort, to whom no better music than to hear their betters upbraided.

Their reasons for the lawfulness of such pamphlets.

18. Some precise men of that side thought these jeering pens well employed; for having formerly, as they say, tried all serious and sober means to reclaim the bishops, (which hitherto proved uneffectual,) they thought it not amiss to try this new way, that whom they could not in earnest make odious, in sport they might render ridiculous. Wits will be working, and such as have a satirical vein cannot better vent it than in lashing of sin. Besides, they wanted not a warrant, as they conceived, in holy writ, where it was no solecism to the gravity of Elijah to mock Baal's priests out of their superstition chieflyⁿ. This was conceived would drive on their design, strengthen their party by working on the people's affections, which were marvellously taken with the reading thereof.

These books disclaimed by the discreet sort, and why.

19. But the more discreet and devout sort of men, even of such as were no great friends to the hierarchy, upon solemn debate then resolved, (I speak on certain knowledge, from the mouths of such whom I must believe,) that for many foul falsehoods therein suggested such books were altogether un-

ⁿ 1 Kings xviii. 27.

beseeming a pious spirit, to print, publish, or with pleasure peruse; which, supposed true both in matter and measure, charity would rather conceal than discover: the best of men being so conscious of their own badness, that they are more careful to wash their own faces than busy to throw dirt on others. Any man may be witty in a biting way, and those that have the dullest brains have commonly the sharpest teeth to that purpose. But such carnal mirth, whilst it tickles the flesh, doth wound the soul; and, which was the main, these base books would give a great advantage to the general foe, and papists would make too much use thereof against protestant religion, especially seeing an archangel thought himself too good to bring, and Satan not bad enough to have railing speeches brought against him °.

20. But, leaving private men to abound in their own sense, how highly the state (as it then stood) distasted these books, will plainly appear by the heavy censures inflicted on such as were but accessory thereunto. To pass by John Penry and John Udal, ministers accused for making some of them, (of whom in due place,) together with the printers, and Humphrey Newman, a cobbler, chief disperser of them, the Star-Chamber deeply fined sir Richard Knightly and sir [] Wigston for entertaining and receiving the press gentlemen, whom their adversaries allow qualified with piety, gravity, and wisdom P; which made many admire how their

The instruments employed in making these books heavily punished.

° Jude 9.

P Sir G Paul in the Life of Archbishop Whitgift, §. 61.

[A person named William Wygston was knighted by

queen Mary at her coronation.

See Strype's Mem. III. App. vii.; but I have no doubt that the person mentioned by Fuller is the same who, in the depo-

A. D. 1588. discretion could be deluded, and more bemoan that
31 Eliz their goodness should be abused by others, who had
 designs upon them. Here archbishop Whitgift be-
 stirred himself to improve his interest with the
 queen, till his importunity had angered her, and till
 his importunity had pleased her again, that they
 might be delivered out of prison and eased of their
 fines, which upon their submission was performed^q;
 whose mildness to mediate for his adversaries, as it
 was highly commended by some, so there wanted
 not those who imputed his moderation therein to
 declining of envy, gaining of applause, and remorse
 of his own conscience for over-rigorous proceedings;
 it being no charity to cure the wound he had
 caused, and solicit the remitting of those fines which
 he had procured to be imposed. Thus impossible
 it is to please froward spirits, and to make them like
 the best deed who dislike the doer thereof; and if
 any desire to know the motions and stages of the
 press which printed these books, know it was first
 set up at Moulsey, near Kingston, in Surrey^r; thence
 conveyed to Fausly, in Northamptonshire; thence
 to Norton, and afterwards to Coventry; hence it
 was removed to Welstone, in Warwickshire, whence
 the letters were sent to another press, in or near
 Manchester, and there discovered by Henry [Stan-
 ley,] earl of Derby, in the printing of "More Work
 "for the Cooper." No wonder, then, if many
erratas were committed by this (call it as you
 please, pilgrim or vagabond) press, when itself was
 ever in a wandering and straggling condition.

sitions taken at Lambeth, is ^q Camden's Elizabetha in
 called Roger Weekston, Esq. anno 1588.
 Strype's An. III. App. 263.] ^r Sir G. Paul, ib.

21. A synod of the presbyterians ^s, of the War-<sup>A. D. 1588.
31 Eliz.</sup>wickshire classis, was called at Coventry, *die decimo quarti*, (that is, on the 10th of April,) wherein the <sup>Acts of the
synod of
Coventry.</sup> questions brought the last year from the brethren of Cambridge synod were resolved in manner as followeth: ^t

i. That private baptism is unlawful ^u.

ii. That it is not lawful to read homilies in the church.

iii. That the sign of the cross is not to be used in baptism.

iv. That the faithful ought not to communicate with unlearned ministers, although they may be present at their service, if they come of purpose to hear a sermon. The reason is, because laymen as well as ministers may read public service.

v. That the calling of bishops &c. is unlawful.

vi. That as they deal in causes ecclesiastical, there

^s [Of their proceedings at this time, see also Strype's Whitgift, p. 291]

^t Transcribed out of bishop Bancroft's book called England's Scottizing for Discipline by Practice, pp. 86, 87, who may seem to have had the original in Latin.

^u [Upon this point, as it greatly affects a question lately brought much into discussion respecting the validity of baptism as ministered by dissenters, it may not be amiss to state the sentiments of bishop Sandys: "For private baptism," he says, "to be ministered by women, I take neither to be prescribed nor permitted; so have I ever

"been and presently am persuaded that some of them be not so expedient for this church now, but that in the church reformed they may better be disused by little and little." Strype's Life of Whitgift, p. 287. The subject was again mooted at Hampton Court, when lay-baptism was defended by Bancroft, then bishop of London; and so it has been ever held by the church of England, as by the Western churches, and indeed by the Greek church in general. "Baptismus quamvis in schismate collatus sine sacrilegio instaurari non potest." Thorndike, De Jure, p. 368.]

A. D. 1588. is no duty belonging unto them, nor any publicly to
 31 Eliz. be given them.

vii. That it is not lawful to be ordained by them into the ministry, or to denounce either suspensions or excommunications sent from them.

viii. That it is not lawful to rest in the bishops deprivation of any from the ministry, except (upon consultation with the neighbour ministers adjoining and his flock) it seem so good unto them ; but that he continue in the same, until he be compelled to the contrary by civil force.

ix. That it is not lawful to appear in a bishop's court, but with protestation of their unlawfulness.

x. That bishops are not to be acknowledged either for doctors, elders, or deacons, as having no ordinary calling.

xi. That touching the restoration of their ecclesiastical discipline, it ought to be taught to the people, *data occasione*, as occasion should serve.

xii. That *nondum* (as yet) the people are not to be solicited *publice* (publicly) to the practice of the discipline *donec* (till) they be better instructed in the knowledge of it.

xiii. That men of better understanding are to be allured privately to the present embracing of the discipline and practice of it, as far as they shall be well able, with the peace of the church.

Likewise in the same assembly the aforesaid Book of Discipline was approved to be a " draught of discipline essential and necessary for all times ;" and certain articles (devised in approbation, and for the manner of the use thereof) were brought forth,

treated of, and subscribed unto, by Mr. Cartwright A.D. 1588.
 and others, and afterwards tendered far and near to 31 Eliz.
 the several classes for a general ratification of all
 the brethren.

22. Now if Rebecca found herself strangely The Eng-
 affected when twins struggled in her womb^x, the lish church
 condition of the English church must be conceived distracted
 sad, which at the same time had two disciplines, betwixt
 both of them pleading scripture and primitive contrary
 practice, each striving to support itself and suppress its disciplines.
 rival. The hierarchy, commanded by authority,
 established by law, confirmed by general practice,
 and continued so long by custom in this land, that
 had one at this time lived the age of Methuselah
 he could not remember the beginning thereof in
 Britain. The presbytery, though wanting the stamp
 of authority, claiming to be the purer metal founded
 by some clergymen, favoured by many of the gentry,
 and followed by more of the common sort, who
 being prompted with that natural principle that the
 weakest side must be most watchful, what they
 wanted in strength they supplied in activity. But
 what won them most repute was their ministers'
 painful preaching in populous places; it being ob-
 served in England that those who hold the helm of
 the pulpit always steer people's hearts as they
 please. The worst is, that in matters of fact all
 relations in these times are relations: I mean much
 resent of party and interest, to the prejudice of
 truth. Let me mind the reader to reflect his eye
 on our quotations, the margin, in such cases, being
 as material as the text, as containing the authors;
 and his judgment may, according to the credit or
 reference of the author alleged, believe or abate

A. D. 1588
31 Eliz. from the reputation of the report. Let me add, that though it be a lie in the clock, it is but a falsehood in the hand of the dial, when pointing at a wrong hour, if rightly following the direction of the wheel which moveth it. And the fault is not mine, if I truly cite what is false on the credit of another. The best certainty in this kind we are capable of is, what we find in the confessions of the parties themselves, deposed on oath, taken by public notaries, and recorded in court. For such who herein will fly higher for true intelligence than the Star-Chamber, must fetch it from heaven himself.

The success
of the so-
lemn humi-
liation of
the minis-
ters at
Northamp-
ton.

23. In that court we find confessed by one Mr. Johnson⁷, (formerly a great presbyterian, but afterwards, it seems, falling from that side, he discovered many passages to their disadvantage,) how that “when the Book of Discipline came to Northampton to be subscribed unto, there was a general censuring used amongst the brethren there, as it were to sanctify themselves; partly by sustaining a kind of penance and reproof for their former conformity to the orders of the church, and partly to prepare their minds for the devout accepting of the foresaid book: in which course of censuring used at that time there was such ripping up, one of another’s life, even from their youth, as that they came unto great bitterness, with many reviling terms amongst themselves, one growing thereby odious to another, and some did thereupon utterly forsake those kinds of assemblies.” O how woful the vessel of the English church! whilst her *ὑπέρκειται*, her ministers and under-rowers, some

⁷ See England’s Scottizing for Discipline, p. 88.

tugged it one way, and others towing it another, A. D. 1588.
31 Eliz.
 enough almost to split her in pieces with the violence of their contrary discipline.

24. Leave we them for a while, to behold how the popish clergy were employed, who in the beginning of this year were as busy as bees newly ready to swarm. A book was set forth called "The Admonition," dispersed amongst catholics, and highly cried up, consisting of several parts, not unfit to be here recited ^z:

i. The authors make their entrance into the discourse with a most odious and shameful declamation against her majesty, stirring up her subjects' hearts to contempt of her highness, as being one odious to God and man.

They threaten the nobility, gentry, &c. with loss of all their goods, their lands, their lives, and with damnation besides; except that presently, upon the

^z [This book, entitled "An Admonition to the Nobility and People of England," gave so great an offence to the queen, that she ordered her ambassador, Val. Dale, to expostulate with the prince of Parma, viceroy of the Low Countries for the king of Spain. Among the MSS. preserved in the library of All Souls College, Oxford, is a draught of a very full proclamation, drawn up on the expectation of the Spanish armada, but never published. Therein the queen, giving a very detailed account of her proceedings with Spain and the prince of Parma, two years before, and of her negotiations for peace, takes occasion to notice

this pamphlet of cardinal Allen, of whom she speaks in extremely bitter terms, and issues very positive orders that if any of her subjects possessed a copy of the said book he should instantly send it in to the privy council, declaring it also to be treason even to possess the same. The violence, however, of the book, deprived it of all influence with the Romanists in England, if we may believe the author of the pamphlet entitled "The Copy of a Letter sent out of England," &c.; the generality of them resolving to neglect it and defend the liberty and independence of their country. See Somers' Tracts, I. 433, 435, &c. and the Harleian Miscellany, vol. I.]

A. D. 1588. landing of the Spaniards, they joined themselves,
3^d Eliz. and all their forces, men, munition, victuals, and whatsoever else they could make, with their catholic army, forsooth, for the words be these : “ If you “ will avoid,” say they, “ the pope’s, the king’s, and “ other princes’ high indignation, let no man, of “ what degree soever, abet, aid, defend, or acknow- “ ledge her,” &c.; adding, that “ otherwise they “ should incur the angel’s curse and malediction, “ and be as deeply excommunicated as any ; because “ that in taking her majesty’s part they should fight “ against God, against their lawful king, against “ their country ; and that, notwithstanding all they “ should do, they should but defend her highness “ bootless, to their own present destruction and “ eternal shame.”

ii. After all those and many other such threats, in a high and military style, to scare fools with, then they come to some more mild persuasions, and promise the noblemen, that so they join with the duke of Parma upon the receipt of their Admonition, they will entreat that their whole houses shall not perish. For Parsons did instigate the English cardinal to swear by his honour, and in the word of a cardinal, that in the fury of their intended massacre there should as great care be taken of every catholic and penitent person as possibly could be, and that he was made a cardinal of purpose to be sent then into England for the sweet managing of those affairs.

iii. Other arguments they used, drawn from the certainty of the victory : as that all the protestants would either turn their coats, copies, arms, or fly away, in fear and torment of the angel of God prosecuting them ; that although none of her majesty’s

subjects should assist the Spaniards, yet their own A. D. 1588.
 forces which they brought with them were strong 31 Eliz.
 enough, their provision sufficient, their appointment
 so surpassing that they had more expert captains
 than her majesty had good soldiers, all resolute to
 be in the cause, which they had undertaken; that
 the blood of all the blessed bishops shed in this
 land, and all the saints in heaven, prayed for the
 Spaniards' victory; that all the virtuous priests of
 our country, both at home and abroad, had stretched
 forth their sacred hands to the same end; that many
 priests were in the camp, to serve every spiritual
 man's necessity; that their forces were guarded with
 all God's holy angels, with Christ himself in the
 sovereign sacrament, and with the daily most holy
 oblation of Christ's own dear body and blood; that
 the Spaniards being thus assisted with so many
 helps, though they had been never so few, they
 could not lose; and that her majesty and her assist-
 ants, wanting these helps, although they were never
 so fierce, never so proud, never so many, never so
 well appointed, yet they could not prevail. "Fear
 "you not," say they to such as would take their
 part—"they cannot." And thus far out of their
 said Jesuitical Admonition ^a.

^a [The remarks of Watson upon this book are subjoined:
 "It cannot be denied but that,
 "in the year 1588, cardinal
 "Allen compiled a booke, at
 "the importunate suite of
 "father Parsons, impudently
 "urging his grace thereto, to
 "have been published when
 "the Spaniards should have
 "arrived, for the same intent
 "premised in the article;"—
 (Watson's book is written with

articles and answers, and he
 here refers to the sixth article
 of his own book,) "the first
 "part of which booke was in-
 "titled *A Declaration of the*
 "*Sentence, &c.*; the second,
 "*An Admonition to the Nobili-*
 "*tie and People of England,*
 "*&c.* Of these books a great
 "number were printed; but
 "presently upon the over-
 "throw of the great invincible
 "armado, under their heroical

A. D. 1588.
31 Eliz.

The book goes under the name of cardinal Allen, though the secular priests say he was but the cloak-father thereof, and that Parsons the Jesuit made it ^b. Others conceive it equivocally begotten, as the result and extract of several brains. No doubt, had the Spanish invasion succeeded, happy he who could have laid claim to so prophetic a piece; and they would have fallen out as the two harlots about the living child, who should have been parent thereof^c. Whereas now, on the miscarriage of their great navy, all disclaimed the book; and Parsons procured the whole impression to be burnt, (save some few, sent abroad beforehand to his friends^d;) that it might not remain a monument of their falsehood. And now the popish priests, some lurked here in holes, other fled into foreign parts, their confusion being the greater for their former confidence. Thus Sisera comes off the more coldly, when stripped out

“Atlantado, father Parsons, for shame of the world, and to the end that it should not be known how the expectation of the false prophet was frustrate, procured the whole impression to be burnt, saving some few that had been sent abroad beforehand to his friends, and such as had otherwise been conveyed away by the printer and others in secret-wise; some whereof, ferrying over the main, were wafted into the South Ocean shores.” Then, in a note to the margin of his book, he observes, “There was never honest man, as I think, that penned such a treatise as this book here mentioned to have gone under the good cardinal’s name, who sure

“would never have put his name to it (as he did not) but by the vehement urging of this Machiavellian Jesuit’s persuasion, which full sore repented him afterwarde; insomuch that when he heard and well perceived what they went about, for destroying and runating of his native country, he wept tenderly, not knowing how to remedy it, nor much less how to bridle the Jesuitical insolencie.” Dodd also, in his *Church History*, disclaims cardinal Allen’s authorship of this book, II. p. 54.]

^b Watson’s *Quodlibets*, pag. 240.

^c 1 Kings iii.

^d Watson *ut prius*.

of the garment of *divers colours*^e wherewith his mother had arrayed him, in her fancy running faster than the wheels of her son's chariot to his imaginary conquest.

25. This year died Edwin Sands^f, archbishop of York, born in Lancashire of worshipful parentage, bred in Cambridge, banished to Germany; after this promoted to be bishop of Worcester, then succeeded Grindal in London and York, an excellent and painful preacher, and of a pious and godly life, which increased in his old age; so that by a great and good stride, whilst he had one foot in the grave, he had the other in heaven. He was buried in Southwell; and it is hard to say whether he was more eminent in his own virtues, or more happy in his flourishing posterity^g.

26. The next year produced not any great church matters in itself, but was only preparatory to the ripening of business and raising the charges against the principal patrons of nonconformity. Indeed archbishop Whitgift, according to his constant custom and manner, repaired daily to the council-table early in the morning, and after an usual appreciation of a "good-morrow" to the lords, he requested to know if there were any church business to be debated; and if the answer were returned in the affirmative, he stayed and attended the issue of the matter; but if no such matter appeared, he craved leave to be dispensed withal, saying, "Then, my lords, here is no need of me," and departed;—a

^e Judg. v 30.

^f [July 10, 1588.]

^g [See some account of him in Strype's Whitgift, p. 286, who has printed his epitaph in

the Appendix. Clarke, the puritan, has also inserted a life of this bishop in his Martyrology. See Lives of Thirty-two English Divines, &c. p. 6]

A. D. 1588.
31 Eliz

The death
of Edwin
Sands,
archbishop
of York.

Archbishop
Whitgift
his discre-
tion.

A. D. 1588. commendable practice, clearing himself from all
 31 Eliz. aspersions of civil pragmatism, and tending much
 to the just support of his reputation.

Articles
 objected
 against Mr.
 Thomas
 Cartwright
 27. On the first of September Mr. Cartwright,
 bachelor in divinity, was brought before her majes-
 ty's commissioners, there to take his oath, and give
 in his positive answer to the following articles^h:

i. "*Imprimis*, We do object and articulate against
 " him, that he, being a minister, (at least a deacon,)
 " lawfully called according to the godly laws and
 " orders of this church of England, hath forsaken,
 " abandoned, and renounced the same orders eccle-
 " siastical, as an Antichristian and unlawful manner
 " of calling unto the ministry or deaconship.

ii. "*Item*, That he, departing this realm into
 " foreign parts without license, as a man discon-
 " tented with the form of government ecclesiastical
 " here by law established, the more to testify his

^h The copy of these articles was found by a friend in Mr. Travers his study after his death, who as kindly communicated as I have truly transcribed them. [Upon this paper Strype remarks, "I forbear to set down the rest of the articles, being very correctly transcribed in Dr. Fuller's Church History, (from a copy of them found in Travers's study, and communicated to that author,) as I have found by comparing them in his printed book with the archbishop's MS., an original of them: only in article the fourth, in the archbishop's MS., the name *Axton* is miswrit *Acton* in the transcript; and at article the thirteenth, the last clause there is made a new article in the said MS., being set in the margin thus: '14. *Item*, that he, in a lecture at Coventry, in Mr. Fen's place, upon Psalm cxxii., where there is mention of *thrones*, laboured to teach the doctrine of the presbyteries: and urging the discipline, he affirmed the want thereof to be the cause why some forsok our church, and that enemies and papists would not come near her.'" Life of Whitgift, p 337. Oxf. 8vo edit. vol. ii. p. 24.]

“ dislike and contempt thereof, and of the manner A. D. 1588.
 “ of his former vocation and ordination, was con- 31 Eliz.
 “ tented in foreign parts (as at Antwerp, Middel-
 “ burgh, or elsewhere) to have a new vocation,
 “ election, or ordination, by imposition of hands
 “ unto the ministry, or unto some other order or
 “ degree ecclesiastical, and in other manner and
 “ form than the laws ecclesiastical of this realm do
 “ prescribe. Let him declare upon his oath the
 “ particular circumstances thereof.

iii. “ *Item*, That by virtue or colour of such his
 “ later vocation, election, or ordination, becoming a
 “ pretended bishop or pastor of such congregation
 “ as made choice of him, he established, or procured
 “ to be established, at Antwerp and at Middelburgh,
 “ among merchants and others her majesty’s sub-
 “ jects, a certain consistory, seminary, presbytery, or
 “ eldership ecclesiastical; consisting of himself, (being
 “ bishop or pastor, and so president thereof,) of a
 “ doctor, of certain ancients, seniors, or elders for
 “ government ecclesiastical, and of deacons for dis-
 “ tributing to the poor.

iv. “ *Item*, That the said eldership, and the autho-
 “ rity thereof, certain English-born subjects were
 “ called, elected, or ordained by imposition of hands
 “ to be ministers or ecclesiastical doctors, (being not
 “ of that degree before,) as Hart, Travers, Grise, or
 “ some of them; and some that were also ministers
 “ afore, according to the orders of the church of
 “ England, (as Fenner, Acton,) were so called; and
 “ other English subjects were also called, and like-
 “ wise ordained elders; and some others were or-
 “ dained deacons, in other manner and form than

A. D. 1588. “ the laws ecclesiastical of the realm do prescribe
31 Eliz. “ or allow of.

v. “ *Item*, That such eldership so established,
“ under the presidentship of him the said Thomas
“ Cartwright, had used (besides this authority of
“ this vocation, and ordination of officers ecclesias-
“ tical) the censures and keys of the church, as
“ public admonition, suspension from the supper,
“ and from execution of offices ecclesiastical, and
“ the censures of excommunication; likewise autho-
“ rity of making laws, decrees, and orders ecclesias-
“ tical, and of dealing with the doctrine and man-
“ ners of all persons in that congregation, in all
“ matters whatsoever, so far as might appertain to
“ conscience.

vi. “ *Item*, That he, the said Thomas Cartwright,
“ in the public administration of his ministry there
“ among her majesty’s subjects, used not the form
“ of liturgy or Book of Common Prayer by the
“ laws of this land established, nor in his govern-
“ ment ecclesiastical the laws and orders of this
“ land, but rather conformed himself in both to the
“ use and form of some other foreign churches.

vii. “ *Item*, That since his last return from beyond
“ the seas, being to be placed at Warwick, he faith-
“ fully promised, if he might be but tolerated to
“ preach, not to impugn the laws, orders, policy,
“ government, nor governors in this church of Eng-
“ land, but to persuade and procure, so much as he
“ could, both publicly and privately, the estimation
“ and peace of this church.

viii. “ *Item*, That he, having no ministry in this
“ church, (other than such as before he had forsaken,

“ and still condemneth as unlawful,) and without A. D. 1588.
 “ any license, as law requireth, he hath since taken 31 Eliz.
 “ upon him to preach at Warwick, and at sundry
 “ other places of this realm.

ix. “ *Item*, That since his said return, in sundry
 “ private conferences with such ministers and others
 “ as at sundry times by word and letter have asked
 “ his advice or opinion, he hath shewed mislike of
 “ the laws and government ecclesiastical, and of
 “ divers parts of the liturgy of this church; and
 “ thereby persuaded, and prevailed also with many
 “ in sundry points, to break the orders and form of
 “ the Book of Common Prayer, who observed them
 “ before, and also to oppose themselves to the go-
 “ vernment of this church, as himself well knoweth
 “ or verily believeth.

x. “ *Item*, That in all or most of such his sermons
 “ and exercises he hath taken occasion to traduce
 “ and inveigh against the bishops, and other go-
 “ vernors under them, in this church.

xi. “ *Item*, That he hath grown so far in hatred
 “ and dislike towards them, as that at sundry times,
 “ in his prayer at sermons, and namely, preaching at
 “ Banbury about a year since, in such place as others
 “ well disposed pray for bishops, he prayed to this
 “ or like effect: ‘ Because that they, which ought to
 “ be pillars in the church, do bend themselves
 “ against Christ and his truth, therefore, O Lord,
 “ give us grace and power, all as one man, to set
 “ ourselves against them.’ And this in effect, by
 “ way of emphasis, he then also repeated.

xii. “ *Item*, That preaching at sundry times and
 “ places, he usually reacheth at all occasions to
 “ deprave, condemn, and impugn the manner of

A.D. 1588. "ordination of bishops, ministers, and deacons; sun-
31 Eliz. "dry points of the polity, government, laws, orders,
 "and rites ecclesiastical, and of the public liturgy
 "of the church of England, contained in the Book
 "of Common Prayer; as namely, the use of the
 "surplice, the interrogatories to godfathers, &c. in
 "the name of the infants, the cross in baptism, the
 "ring in marriage, the thanksgiving after child-
 "birth, burials by ministers, the kneeling at com-
 "munion, some points of the litany, certain collects
 "and prayers, the reading of portions of scripture
 "for the epistle and gospel, and the manner of
 "singing in cathedral churches and others.

xiii. "Item, That preaching at the baptizing of
 "one of Job Throgmorton's children, he spoke much
 "of the unlawfulness, and in derogation of the
 "government, polity, laws, and liturgy ecclesiastical
 "of this realm; and to the justification of a govern-
 "ment by elderships in every congregation, and by
 "conference and synods &c. abroad, as divine insti-
 "tutions commanded by Christ, and the only lawful
 "church government; seeking to prove and esta-
 "blish such elderships out of that word in one of
 "the Psalms, where thrones are mentioned ¹.

¹ [Travers and Cartwright were the first who, following Beza, made the presbyterian platform a third note of the church, "*as necessary a note as either the word or sacraments*," T. C. Second Reply, p. 53. And as men, when once they leave the pale of the church, are never certain how far they shall be carried along by the current of their folly, so

was it with them. They and their followers shortly after began to assert that "without this discipline there can be no true religion," (Register, p. 68;) that "they that reject this discipline refuse to have Christ reign over them, and deny Him, in effect, to be their King or their Lord." T. C. I. 220, and Table Pref. to Demon. See §. xxv.]

xiv. "*Item*, That, by toleration and impunity, he did ^{A.D. 1588.}
 "grow so confident, and withal implacable against ^{31 Eliz.}
 "the laws, government, and orders of this church
 "of England, that he could not endure Mr. Bourd-
 "man and others (preaching sundry times at War-
 "wick) to speak in defence thereof, but took upon
 "him to confute, in sundry sermons there, these
 "things which the said Bourdman had truly and
 "dutifully in that behalf spoken and delivered.

xv. "*Item*, That in his sermons at Warwick and
 "elsewhere, within the said time, he often delivered
 "many frivolous, strange, and indiscreet positions:
 "as namely, that to kneel down and pray when a
 "man comes into the church, or pray there pri-
 "vately, was but to offer the sacrifice of fools; that
 "it was requisite all the hearers that were able
 "should stand upon their feet during sermons; and,
 "discoursing about women and their childbirth, &c.,
 "did speak thereof so indiscreetly and offensively,
 "that sundry of them in great grief had conspired
 "to have mischieved him with stones in the open
 "streets.

xvi. "*Item*, That by his persuasions, privately and
 "publicly delivered, sundry persons in and about
 "Warwick were appointed to impugn, both in
 "words and deeds, the laws, orders, and rites
 "prescribed by the Book of Common Prayer; inso-
 "much as both his own wife, by his procurement
 "and consent, refused after childbirth to come and
 "give thanks in such place of the church, and in
 "that solemn manner, as thereby is prescribed; and
 "some other women also of that town, by such per-
 "suasion and example, did use the like contempt.

xvii. "*Item*, That sundry times, or at least once,

A. D. 1588. “ when he communicated at the Lord’s Supper
 31 Eliz “ there, he sat, or stood upon his feet; and divers
 “ others, induced by his persuasions and example,
 “ both then and at other times did the like; and
 “ that at other times there, or in other places where
 “ he hath communicated, both himself and others
 “ (as he had appointed or persuaded afore) did walk
 “ along, and receive the sacrament of the minister
 “ as they passed by him.

xviii. “ *Item*, That for these and such-like disorders
 “ he was presented to the bishop of Wigorne, his
 “ ordinary; before whom, being convented in the
 “ consistory there, he spake to the justification and
 “ upholding of such doing of his, and of others; and
 “ there very publicly and offensively affirmed and
 “ disputed, ‘ That the Book of Common Prayer, &c.
 “ is not established by law.’

xix. “ *Item*, That when by authority from the said
 “ bishop, for his contempt he was suspended from
 “ preaching, *et ab omni functione ministerii*, he
 “ appealed from the said suspension, yet did not
 “ prosecute within a year after, whereby (the cause
 “ being, according to law, remitted again to the
 “ bishop) he the said Thomas Cartwright, according
 “ to the former proceedings, falling again into the
 “ sentence of suspension, (which was also intimated
 “ and made known unto him,) nevertheless, in con-
 “ tempt of the authority ecclesiastical, he hath
 “ preached at Warwick, Coventry, and elsewhere
 “ since the said time.

xx. “ *Item*, When one of his men-servants had
 “ committed fornication, and gotten a bastard in
 “ his house, he, taking upon him the authority of
 “ the ordinary, did appoint unto the delinquent a

“ public form of penance or satisfaction, in St. A.D. 1588.

“ Mary’s Church at Warwick, and caused him to ^{31 Eliz.}_____ ,

“ perform the same.

xxi. “ *Item*, Since his placing at Warwick, he,
 “ with others, (at such times as they thought fit,)
 “ have agreed to have, and so have had, divers
 “ public fasts, without the queen her authority, and
 “ have invited and persuaded both sundry persons
 “ to be there present, and also certain to preach, to
 “ the number of three, four, or five, successively one
 “ after another, being all noted to be such as mis-
 “ like and impugn sundry points of the laws, govern-
 “ ment, and liturgy ecclesiastical of this church of
 “ England; in which sermons both he the said Cart-
 “ wright, and such others also as then preached, did
 “ impugn and inveigh against the present laws,
 “ government, polity, and liturgy ecclesiastical of
 “ this church of England.

xxii. “ *Item*, That from time to time, since his
 “ abode in Warwick, by his practice and dealing, he
 “ hath nourished a faction and heart-burning of one
 “ inhabitant there against another, severing them in
 “ his own and his followers’ speeches, by the names
 “ of ‘the godly,’ or ‘brethren favouring sincerity,’
 “ and ‘the profane.’

xxiii. “ *Item*, That he doth know, or credibly
 “ heard, who were the penners, printers, or some of
 “ the dispersers of the several libels, going under
 “ the name of ‘Martin Mar-Prelate,’ of ‘The De-
 “ monstration of Discipline,’ of ‘Diotrephes,’ and
 “ such-like books, before it was known to authority;
 “ and yet, in favour of such and contempt of good
 “ laws, did not manifest the same to any who had
 “ authority to punish it.

A. D. 1588.
3^d Eliz.

xxiv. “*Item*, That being asked his opinion of such books, he answered thus in effect, or something tending this way, viz. (meaning the bishops and others there touched) would not amend by grave books and advertisements, and therefore it was meet they should thus be dealt with, to their further reproach and shame.

xxv. “*Item*, That for and in the behalf of the church of England, he penned, or procured to be penned, all or some part of a little book, intituled in one part *Disciplina Ecclesiæ sacra Verbo Dei descripta*, and in the other part *Disciplina Synodica ex Ecclesiarum usu, &c.*; and after it was perused by others, whom he first acquainted therewith, he recommended the same to the censures and judgments of moe brethren (being learned preachers) and some others, assembled together by his means for that and other like purposes; which, after deliberation and some alterations, was by them or most of them allowed as the only lawful church government, and fit to be put in practice; and the ways and means for the practising thereof in this realm were also then, or not long after, agreed or concluded upon by them.

xxvi. “*Item*, That for the better and more due practice of it within the space of these seven, six, five, four, three, two, or one year last past, the said Thomas Cartwright and sundry others (as aforesaid, according to former appointment and determinations by them made) have met in assemblies termed synods, more general (as at London at terms and parliament times, in Oxford at the act, in Cambridge at the times of commencement,

“ and Stourbridge fair) and also more particular and A.D. 1590
 “ provincial synods, and at classes or conferences 33 Eliz.
 “ of certain selected ministers, in one or moe places
 “ of sundry several shires; as Warwick, Northamp-
 “ ton, Rutland, Oxford, Leicester, Cambridge, Nor-
 “ folk, Suffolk, Essex, and others.

xxvii. “ *Item*, That at such synods and confer-
 “ ences it hath been concluded, that all the minis-
 “ ters which should be received to be either of the
 “ said general synods, or of any more particular and
 “ provincial, or of a classis or conference, should
 “ subscribe to the said discipline, that they did
 “ allow it, would promote it, practise it, and be
 “ governed by it. And according to the form of
 “ a schedule hereunto annexed, or such like, both
 “ he the said Thomas Cartwright and many others,
 “ at sundry or some general assemblies, as at pro-
 “ vincial and at several conferences, have within the
 “ said time subscribed the same, or some part
 “ thereof.

xxviii. “ *Item*, That at such synods and all other
 “ assemblies a moderator of that meeting was first
 “ by him and them chosen, according to the pre-
 “ scription of the said book; and at some of such
 “ meetings and assemblies, amongst other things, it
 “ was resolved and concluded, that such particular
 “ conferences in several shires should be erected;
 “ how many persons, and with what letters from
 “ every of them, should be sent to the general
 “ assembly; and that one of them, at their coming
 “ home to their conference, should make known the
 “ determinations of the general assembly, to be by
 “ every of them followed and put in practice; which
 “ course in sundry places of this realm hath, within

A. D. 1590. " the time aforesaid, been accordingly followed and
33 Eliz performed.

xxix. " *Item*, That he, with others, in some such
" classis or conference, or in a synod or more general
" assembly holden, did treat and dispute, among
" other points, these six Articles contained in an-
" other schedule annexed, and set down their reso-
" lution and determination of them.

xxx. " *Item*, That he, with others assembled in
" such a general assembly or synod at Cambridge,
" did conclude and decree, (as in another schedule
" annexed, or in some part thereof is contained,)
" which decrees were made known afterwards at
" Warwick to sundry classes there by his means
" assembled, and allowed also by them then met
" together in the same or like form.

xxxi. " *Item*, That all such several meetings,
" synods, and conferences, within the said time,
" many other determinations, as well what should
" be done and performed, or omitted, as also what
" should be holden consonant to God's word, or
" disagreeing from it, have been set down by the
" said Thomas Cartwright and others: as namely,
" that all admitted to either assembly should sub-
" scribe the said book of discipline, holy and synod-
" ical; that those who were sent from any con-
" ference to a synod should bring letters fiduciary,
" or credence; that the last moderator should write
" them; that the superscription thereof should be
" to a known man of the assembly then to be
" holden; that no book made by any of them should
" be put in print, but by consent of the classis at
" least; that some of them must be earnest, and
" some more mild and temperate, whereby there

“ may be both of the spirit of Elias and Elizeus ; A. D. 1590.
“ that all admitted amongst them should subscribe 33 Eliz.
“ and promise to conform themselves in their proceedings, administration of sacraments, and of discipline, to the form of that book ; and that they would subject themselves to the censuring of the brethren, both for doctrine and life ; and lastly, that upon occasion when any of their brethren shall be sent by them upon affairs of the church, (as to the great meetings, parliament, &c.) they all would bear their charges in common ; that there might be no superiority amongst them, and that the moderators (as it happened) is not a superiority or honour, but a burden ; that no profane writer, or any other than canonical scripture, may be alleged in sermons ; that they should all teach that the ministry of those who did not preach is no ministry, but a mere nullity ; that it is not lawful to take any oath, whereby a man may be driven to discover any thing penal to himself or to his brother, especially if he be persuaded the matter to be lawful for which the punishment is like to be inflicted ; or having taken it in this case, need not discover the very truth ; that to a bishop or other officer ecclesiastical (as is used now in the church of England) none obedience ought to be given, neither in appearing before them, in doing that which they command, nor in abstaining from that which they inhibit ; that in such places as the most of the people favoured the cause of sincerity, eldership should warily and wisely be placed and established, which consistory in some places hath been either wholly or in part erected accordingly—yea,

A. D. 1590. “ in some colleges in the university, as he knoweth,
 33 Eliz. “ hath heard, or verily believeth.”

These Articles were tendered to Mr. Cartwright in the consistory of Paul's, before John Aylmer, bishop of London, the two lord chief justices, justice Gawdy, sergeant Puckering, (afterwards lord keeper,) and attorney-general Popham.

Mr. Cartwright refuseth to answer on oath.

28. These commissioners did not move him to give in his answer, the rather because the chief points in the interrogatories were delivered in general terms unto him; and they severally assured him on their credits that by the laws of the realm he was to take his oath, and to answer as he was required^k. But Mr. Cartwright desired to be borne withal, pleading that he thought he was not bound by the laws of God so to do. Hereupon he was sent to the rest of his brethren to the Fleet, where he secretly and silently took up his lodging; many admiring at the panic peaceableness, and so quiet a calm, where so violent a tempest was feared to arise^l.

Wigington his riddling words

29. Some soon after expected the appearance of the presbyterian party, accounting it more valour to free than to keep their friends from prison; the rather because of a passage in a letter of Mr. Wigington's to one Mr. Porter, at Lancaster:

“ Mr. Cartwright is in the Fleet, for the refusal

^k [See Cartwright's letters during his imprisonment, in Strype's Annals, IV. p. 48, sq.; and the reasons urged by the puritans against taking the oath just mentioned, *ib.* p. 86. No stronger evidence of their dishonesty and prevarication needs be given than what is betrayed by their own statements.]

^l [Bancroft's Dangerous Positions, p. 94.]

“ of the oath, as I hear ; and Mr. Knewstubs is sent A. D. 1590.
 “ for, and sundry worthy ministers are disquieted, 33 Eliz.
 “ who have been spared long : so that we look for
 “ some bickering ere long, and then a battle, which
 “ cannot long endure ^m. ”

Words variously expounded, as men's fancies directed them. Some conceived that this bickering and battle did barely import a passive conflict, wherein their patience was to encounter the power of their adversaries, and to conquer by suffering : parallel to the apostle's words, *Without were fightings* ⁿ, meaning combats to wrestle with in many difficulties opposing their proceedings. Others expounded the words literally, not of a tame but wild battle, and of some intended violence, as if shortly they would muster their hitherto invisible forces to storm the fleet, and rescue their friends therein. A third sort beheld Wigington, the writer of these words, as one but of the soberer sort of distracted men ; and therefore in vain do staid heads make serious comments on light men's random expressions, where the knot is neither to be untied nor cut, but cast away.

30. Now the principal pillars of the presbyterian party, being some in restraint, more in trouble, all in fear, applied themselves by their secret solicitors to James king of Scotland, and procured his letter The king of Scots writes in favour of the nonconformists. to the queen in their behalf, seconded with another to the same effect. They conceived so potent a petitioner must needs prevail, especially in this juncture of time, the queen having lately (since she

^m [Bancroft's Dangerous Positions, p. 142.]

ⁿ 2 Cor. vii. 5.

A D. 1591. put his mother to death) adulced him with fair
34 Eliz. language and kind carriage. This letter was sent to one Mr. Johnson, a Scotch merchant in London, by him presented to the queen, perused by her majesty, and remitted to her privy council. But behold the tenor thereof:

“ Right excellent, high, and mighty Princess, our
“ dearest Sister and Cousin, in our heartiest manner
“ we recommend us unto you. Hearing of the
“ apprehension of Mr. Udall and Mr. Cartwright,
“ and certain ministers of the evangel within your
“ realm, of whose good erudition and faithful travels
“ in the church we hear a very credible commenda-
“ tion, howsoever that their diversity from the
“ bishops and others of your clergy, in matters
“ touching them in conscience, hath been a mean
“ by their dilation to work them your misliking;
“ at this present we cannot (weighing the duty
“ which we owe to such as are afflicted for their
“ conscience in that profession) but by our most
“ effectuous and earnest letter interpone us at your
“ hands to stay any harder usage of them for that
“ cause; requesting you most earnestly that for our
“ cause and intercession it may please you to let
“ them be relieved of their present strait, and what-
“ soever further accusation or pursuit depending on
“ that ground, respecting both their former merit
“ in setting forth the evangel, the simplicity of their
“ conscience in this defence which cannot well be
“ their let by compulsion, and the great slander
“ which could not fail to fall out upon their further
“ straiting for any such occasion: which we assure
“ us your zeal to religion, besides the expectation

“ we have of your good-will to pleasure us, will ^{A D. 1591.}
 “ willingly accord to our request ; having such ^{34 Eliz.}
 “ proofs, from time to time, of our like disposition
 “ to you in any matters which you recommend unto
 “ us. And thus, right excellent, right high and
 “ mighty Princess, our dear Sister and Cousin, we
 “ commit you to God’s protection.
 “ Edinburgh, June 12, 1591.”

This letter prevailed little with the queen, nor do I find that the king of Scotland was discontented thereat ; princes politicly understanding their mutual secret language, (not to say silent signs,) whose desires to foreign princes for private persons carry this tacit reservation, if it may stand with the conveniency and pleasure of him to whom it is written. Besides, they know by their own experience that often there is the least of themselves in their own letters, as granted merely for quietness’ sake, to satisfy the importunity of others.

31. One word from archbishop Whitgift befriended Mr. Cartwright more than both the letters from the king of Scotland. This prelate, reflecting on his abilities and their ancient acquaintance in Trinity College, and remembering (as an honourable adversary) they had brandished pens one against another, and considering that both of them now were well stricken in years, and, some will say, fearing the success in so tough a conflict, on Mr. Cartwright’s general promise to be quiet, procured his dismissal out of the Star-Chamber and prison wherein he was confined.ⁿⁿ Henceforward Mr. Cartwright became

Mr. Cartwright discharged the Star-Chamber by the intercession of archbishop Whitgift.

ⁿⁿ [He retired to a private quietly and grew rich,” says living at Warwick ; “ and lived Isaac Walton ; Life of Hooker,

A.D. 1591.
34 Eliz. very peaceable, not that he began to desert the cause, but the cause him; the original state of the point of nonconformity being much altered and disguised from itself, and many state businesses, (which Mr. Cartwright disclaimed,) by turbulent spirits shuffled into it.

A preface
to the en-
suing dis-
course.

32. Next followeth the just death of Hacket, for his damnable blasphemy; and I am sensible of a sad dilemma concerning the same^o: for not relating the story will be interpreted favouring of him, and wronging the truth; relating it may be accounted gracing his impieties by recording them. And seeing it is hard for one soul to attend two things at once, some will say no author can write and detest, nor reader peruse and detest, these his blasphemies so at the same instant, but that there will be a short interval betwixt them, yet long enough to have piety wounded therein. However, arming ourselves and others with caution premised, we enter on this sorrowful subject, the rather because the best may be bettered by the worst of men, when considering that natural corruption in their hearts is not less headstrong, but more bridled. Think not that

p. 210. Then he was more fortunate than most men, for he had grown rich by agitation already. See Sutcliffe, on Ecclesiastical Discipline, Pref. He died in 1602.]

^o [For a full history of Hacket's impieties, see a tract entitled, "Conspiracy for pretended Reformation; viz. Presbyterian Discipline: a Treatise discovering the late Designments and Courses held for Advancement there-

of by William Hacket, yeoman, Edmund Coppinger, and Henry Arthington, gent., out of others depositions, and their own letters, writings, and confessions, upon examination, &c. Written by Richard Cosin, LL.D., Dean of the Arches, and Official Principal to Archbishop Whitgift. Published by authority, 1592. Reprinted at London, 1699."]

Hacket and his two companions were worse by A. D. 1591.
 nature than all others of the English nation. I tell 34 Eliz.
 you nay, for if God's restraining grace be taken
 from us, we shall all run unto the same excess of
 riot.

33. This William Hacket was born in Oundle <sup>The cha-
 racter of</sup> in Northamptonshire; of so cruel and fierce a Hacket.
 nature, that he is reported to have bit off and eat
 down the nose of his schoolmaster; a maltster by
 trade, which calling being too narrow for his active
 soul, he undertook to be a discoverer of and in-
 former against recusants, an employment which
 often procured his admittance into the presence of
 great persons when his betters were excluded; one
 of a bold and confident nature, who, though but an
 invited guest where many clergymen were present,
 would always presume to say grace and pray before
 them; a great stickler for the Geneva discipline,
 being very great with Wigington and other the
 most violent of that faction, always inculcating that
 some extraordinary course must be presently taken
 with the obstructers thereof. Once he desperately
 took his dagger, and violently struck the same into
 the picture of the queen, aiming at her heart therein
 by proportion. He pretended also to revelations,
 immediate raptures and discourses with God, as also
 to buffetings of Satan, attesting the truth thereof
 with most direful oaths and execrations.

34. One argument Hacket used to allege, to <sup>His mon-
 strous opi-
 nions and
 practices.</sup> prove his own invulnerability—because he proffered
 leave to any one to kill him that would; the cun-
 ning impostor knowing full well that it was death
 for any to do it, being secured from such violence,
 not by any secret quality in himself, but by the good

A. D. 1591. laws of the queen, against whom he so bitterly inveighed. He railed also against the archbishop Whitgift and chancellor Hatton, with other of the privy counsellors, pretending himself sent from heaven to reform church and state, and bring in a new discipline into both by extraordinary means.

Proclaimed
by his two
prophets.

35. Afterwards he gave it out that the principal spirit of the Messiah rested in him, and had two attendants—Edmund Coppinger (the queen's servant, and one of good descent) for his prophet of mercy, and Henry Arthington (a Yorkshire gentleman) for his prophet of judgment^p. These proclaimed out of a cart in Cheapside that Christ was come in Hacket, with his fan in his hand, to purge the godly from the wicked, with many other precedent, concomitant, and consequent impieties; for who can otherwise conceive but such a prince-principal of darkness must be proportionably attended with a black guard of monstrous opinions and expressions? They cried also, "Repent, England,

^p [According to Stow, these two persons offered to anoint Hacket, as king; but he, taking Coppinger by the hand, said to him, "You shall not need to anoint me, for I have been already anointed in heaven by the Holy Ghost himself!" Then Coppinger asked him what his pleasure was to be done. "Go your way, both," quoth he, "and tell them in the city that Christ Jesus is come with his fan in his hand to judge the earth; and if any man ask you where he is, tell him he lies at Walker's house,

"by Broken Wharf," (where Hacket then resided,) "and if they will not believe it, let them come and kill me if they can; for as truly as Christ Jesus is in heaven, so truly is he come to judge the world." Then Coppinger said it should be done forthwith, and therefore went forward, and Arthington followed; but ere he could get down the stairs, Coppinger had begun below in the house to proclaim news from heaven of exceeding great mercy,—that Christ Jesus was come! Chron. 761.]

“repent!”—good counsel for all that heard, but A. D. 1591.
 best for them that gave it. With much ado (such 34 Eliz.
 the press of people) they got home to Broken Wharf,
 where Hacket lay, and next day all three were sent
 to Bridewell, though some conceived Bedlam the
 more proper place for them; and some days after,
 Hacket being solemnly arraigned before the judges
 at Westminster, demeaned himself very scornfully,
 but was found guilty on a double indictment, and
 condemned.

36. During his imprisonment in Bridewell, one An adventure with more boldness than discretion.
 Dr. Childerly, rector of St. Dunstan’s in the East,
 repaired unto him, and proffered to gripe arms with
 him, and try the wrists, which Hacket unwillingly
 submitted to do, though otherwise boasting himself
 invulnerable and impenetrable. The doctor, though
 with some difficulty, (Hacket being a foul, strong
 lubber,) yet fairly twisted his wrists almost to the
 breaking thereof, but not to the bowing of him to
 any confession or remorse; whilst the other pre-
 sently hasteth home to his house, locked himself up
 in his study, and with fasting and prayer begged
 pardon of God for his pride and boldness, that
 having neither promised precept or precedent for
 his practice in scripture, he should adventure on
 such a trial, wherein justly he might have been
 worsted for his presumption; and discreet men will
 more commend the relenting tenderness of his heart,
 than the sleight and strength of his hands⁹.

37. Hacket was brought to the gibbet near to Hacket’s execution.
 the cross in Cheapside, and there belched forth most

⁹ [He was a person of some eminence; living, unfortunately, long enough to be sequestered by the Long Parliament. See Lloyd’s Memoirs, p. 510. Wood’s Fast. I 165.]

A. D. 1591. blasphemous execrations, till the halter stopped his
34 Eliz. breath. I know what one lawyer pleadeth in his
 behalf, though it be little credit to be the advocate
 of such a client,—“that the bishops had made him
 “mad with persecuting of him.” Sure it was, if he
 were mad, not any learning, but over-much pride
 made him so; and sure it is, he discovered no
 distemper in other particulars, personating at least-
 wise, if not performing, all things with a composed
 gravity. But there is a madness which physicians
 count most uncurable, and call it *modesta insania*,
 when one is mad as to one particular point alone,
 whilst serious and sober in all other things. Whe-
 ther Hacket were not touched with this or no, I
 will not decide, but leave him, to stand or fall, to
 his own master. Coppinger died in Bridewell,
 starving himself, as it is said, by wilful abstinence.
 Arthington (the prophet of judgment) lived to
 prove the object of God’s and the queen’s mercy,
 and printed a plain book of his hearty repentance;
 happy herein, that he met with a general belief of
 his serious sorrow and sincere amendment.

This acci-
 dent un-
 happily im-
 proved
 against him
 the noncon-
 formists.

38. This business of Hacket happened very un-
 seasonably for the presbyterians. True it is, they
 as cordially detested his blasphemies as any of the
 episcopal party; and such of them as loved Hacket
 the nonconformist, abhorred Hacket the heretic,
 after he had mounted to so high a pitch of impiety.
 But (besides the glutinous nature of all aspersions
 to stick where they light) they could not wash his
 odium so fast from themselves, but their adversaries
 were as ready to rub it on again. This rendered
 them at this time so hated at court, that for many
 months together no favourite durst present a peti-

tion in their behalf to the queen, being loth to lose A. D. 1591.
himself to save others, so offended was her majesty ^{34 Eliz.}—
against them.

39. The same day wherein Hacket was executed, Mr. Stone,
Thomas Stone, parson of Warkton in Northampton-
shire, (by virtue of an oath tendered him the day by his con-
before by the queen's attorney, and solemnly taken fession, dis-
by him,) was examined by the examiner for the covereth
Star-Chamber in Gray's Inn, from six of the clock the meeting
thereof.
in the morning till seven at night, to answer unto
thirty-three Articles, but could only effectually
depose to these which follow, faithfully by me
transcribed out of a confession written with his own
hand, and lately in my possession.

1st *Interrog.*—Who and how many assembled
and met together with the said defendants, T. C.,
H. E., E. S., &c., all or any of them, where, when,
how often, &c.?

The *Answer* of T. S. to the *Interrog.* touching the
circumstances of

I. PLACES OF MEETING.

i. *Greater.*

i. In London: 1. Travers's house; 2. Egerton's;
3. Gardener's; 4. Barber's.

ii. In Cambridge, St. John's College.

ii. *Less.*

i. In Northampton: 1. Johnson's house; Snape's.

ii. In Kettering, or near it: 1. Damme's house;
2. Stone's.

II. TIMES.

1. Since the beginning of the last parliament.
2. Sundry times at London, how oft he remembered
not. 3. Sundry times at Northampton, how oft

A D 1591.
 34 Chz. not remembered. 4. Sundry times at Kettering, how not remembered. 5. Once at Cambridge, about Stourbridge fair time was one or two years. 6. Once at London, a little before Mr. Cartwright was committed, at Mr. Gardener's house. 7. Once at this deponent's house, the certain time not remembered.

III. PERSONS.

i. *Meeting in London, jointly or severally.*

Mr. Travers, Mr. Chark, Mr. Egerton, Mr. Gardener, Mr. Barber, Mr. Brown, Mr. Somerscales, Mr. Cartwright, Mr. Chatterton, Mr. Gifford, Mr. Allen, Mr. Edmunds, Mr. Gillebrand, Mr. Culverwell, Mr. Oxenbridge, Mr. Barbon, Mr. Fludd, this deponent.

ii. *Meeting in Cambridge.*

Mr. Chatterton and others of Cambridge, Mr. Cartwright, Mr. Gifford, Mr. Allen, Mr. Snape, Mr. Fludd, this deponent.

iii. *Meeting in Northampton, jointly or severally.*

Mr. Johnson, Mr. Snape, Mr. Sibthorpe, Mr. Edwards, Mr. Fludd, this deponent, Mr. Spicer, Mr. Fleshware, Mr. Harrison, Mr. Littleton, Mr. Williamson, Mr. Rushbrook, Mr. Baxter, Mr. Barbon, Mr. King, Mr. Proudcome, Mr. Massey, Mr. Bradshaw.

iv. *Meeting at Kettering, or near to it.*

Mr. Dammes, Mr. Pattison, Mr. Okes, Mr. Baxter, Mr. Rushbrook, Mr. Atkinson, Mr. Williamson, Mr. Massey, this deponent.

2nd Interrog.—Who called these assemblies, by what authority, how, or in what sort?

Answer.—That he knew not by whom they were

called, neither knew he any other authority therein, A.D. 1591.
34 Eliz.
saving a voluntary or free motion, one giving another
intelligence as occasion served, sometimes by letters,
and sometimes by word of mouth.

3rd Interrog.—Who were moderators in them,
and what their office?

Answer.—That he remembered not who were
moderators in any meeting particularly, saving once
at Northampton, when Mr. Johnson was admonished,
and that was either himself or Mr. Snapes,
he knew not well whether.

4th Interrog.—What things were debated in those
meetings or assemblies?

Answer.—That the things chiefly and most often
considered of in those assemblies were these: first,
the subscription to the Book of Common Prayer,
how far it might be yielded unto, rather than any
should forego his ministry; secondly, the Book of
Discipline was often perused, discussed, &c.; thirdly,
three petitions or supplications were agreed upon to
be drawn—first, to her majesty—secondly, to the
lords of the council—thirdly, to the bishops. The
things debated of in particular, he remembered not
more than these: first, the perfecting of the Book
of Discipline, and purpose to subscribe to it at
Cambridge; secondly, this question disputed, whe-
ther it were convenient for Mr. Cartwright to reveal
the circumstances of the conference a little before
he was committed; thirdly, the admonishing of Mr.
Johnson once at Northampton; fourthly, the de-
bating of this question, whether the books called
Apocrypha were warrantable to be read publicly in
the church as the canonical scriptures.

5th Interrog.—Whether any censures were exer-

A.D. 1591.
34 Eliz. cised, what kinds, when, where, upon whom, by whom, for what cause?

Answer.—That he never saw any censure exercised, saving admonition once upon Mr. Johnson of Northampton, for miscarrying himself in his conversation, to the scandal of his calling; neither was that used with any kind of authority, but by a voluntary yielding unto it, and approving of it, as well in him that was admonished as in him which did admonish.

6th Interrog.—Whether any of the said defendants had moved or persuaded any to refuse an oath, and in what case, &c.?

Answer.—That he never knew any of the defendants to use words of persuasion to any to refuse an oath; only Mr. Snape sent him down in writing certain reasons, drawn out of the scripture, which moved him to refuse the general oath *ex officio*, which I stood persuaded that he sent to none other end, but to declare that he refused not to swear upon any contempt, but only for conscience sake.

I have insisted the longer on this deposition, because the first and fullest that I find in the kind thereof, containing their classes more formally settled in Northamptonshire than any where else in England; for as the west part of that shire is observed to be the highest place of England, as appeareth by the rivers rising there, and running thence to the four winds, so was that county a probable place (as the midst of the land) for the presbyterian discipline, there erected, to derive itself into all the quarters of the kingdom.

40. But when the news of Mr. Stone's answer

was brought abroad, he was generally censured by those of his party, as well such as were yet at liberty, conceiving themselves endangered by his discovery, as by those already in prison, complaining that he added affliction to their bonds; yea, his embracing a different course from the rest cast an aspersion on others of his side, as less sound in judgment or tender in conscience, because peremptorily concealing what he thought fitting to confess. Many that highly esteemed him before, hereafter accounted him no precious but a counterfeit Stone; so that he found it necessary, in his own vindication, to impart the reasons of his confession to such as condemned him, if not for a traitor, at least for a coward in the cause^a:

i. He judged it unlawful to refuse an oath, limited and bounded within the compass of the conferences, being required before a lawful magistrate in a plea for the prince to a lawful end, I, to try out the truth in a doubtful fact, suspected and feared to be dangerous both to church and common weal; but such was that oath which was tendered to him, *ergo*,

The reasons why Mr Stone made this confession against the hope and expectation of the brethren.

ii. He, being lawfully sworn, judged it unlawful to be mute, much more to speak any untruth.

iii. If he had not been urged by oath to reveal, yet did he judge that silence unlawful which justly causeth suspicion of evil, as of treason, rebellion, sedition, &c.

iv. He judged that concealment unlawful which was not only scandalous, but also dangerous, as this that might occasion and encourage wicked persons to hide their complices in their worst attempts.

^a Carefully by me transcribed out of his own letters to his friends.

A. D. 1591.
34 Eliz.

v. He judged that the clearing of a doubtful fact requireth the clearing of the circumstances, which cannot be cleared till they be known.

vi. He judged that silence unlawful which leaveth the truth friendless, or few friends, when she hath need of many.

vii. He judged it a point or note of puritanism for any to stand so upon the integrity of their own actions, as that they should not be doubted of, suspected, examined, censured, &c.

viii. He saw no probability nor possibility in reason to have the circumstances longer concealed: 1. Because many of them are already made known, partly by the letters and writings of the brethren in bonds, which have been intercepted; partly, also, by certain false brethren; and, lastly, by certain faithful but weak brethren, whose confessions are to be seen under their own hands. 2. Because the magistrate is resolutely set to search them out. And, lastly, because divers are to be called, and to answer upon oath, which approve not the concealing of them.

ix. He judged the inconveniences which come by the concealing to be, if not more in number, yet greater in weight, and more inevitable than those that come by revealings; which, as it may appear in some of the former reasons alleged to prove the unlawfulness of concealing, so may it further appear in these that follow.

x. The good name and credit of any (of a minister much more) ought to be dearer to him, and to all those that love him, than his liberty, &c.; but by this concealing, the credit of many good ministers is eclipsed.

xi. This concealing hath caused the continuance

of some in bonds and imprisonment hitherto, would ^{A. D. 1591.} cause others to be committed, and withal causeth ^{34 Eliz.} suspicion of evils, treason, rebellion, sedition, &c., and thereby also evil report, slander, &c.

xii. As by concealing the aforesaid, suspicion and slander lieth still upon us all which have been in these actions, so doth the same grow every day more grievous by the wicked attempts of hypocrites and profane persons, which carry the name of puritans, precisians, &c., as those of late in Cheapside.

xiii. Although it be very like that the revealing will bring punishment upon the rest, yet is it not certain nor necessary, but the concealing doth certainly cause suspicion, slander, &c.

xiv. The concealing argueth either some guiltiness, or at the least some faintness and fear to be seen or known in these actions.

xv. It leaveth the truth (which now travaileth) poor, naked, destitute, and void of friends; it casteth the care, credit, countenance, defence, and maintenance of it upon those few which are in prison, which ought to be supported and maintained by all.

xvi. It leaveth the burden upon eight or nine men's shoulders, which ought to be eased by many.

What satisfaction this gave to his party I know not: sure I am the bishops, till his dying day, beheld him as an ingenuous man, carrying his conscience with the reason thereof in his own breast, and not pinning it on the precedent of any other; whereupon they permitted him peaceably to possess his parsonage, (being none of the meanest,) though he continued a stiff nonconformist, only quietly enjoying his own opinion. Indeed he was a downright

A D. 1591. Nathaniel, if not guilty of too much of the dove in
 24 Elhz. him—faulty in that defect wherein more offend in
 the excess, not minding the world so much as
 became a provident parent. But we leave him,
 when we have told the reader that he was bred a
 student in Christ Church, and was proctor of Oxford
 anno 1580^r, and died quietly an old man, anno 1617,
 at Warkton in Northamptonshire.

Synodical
 meetings
 finally
 blasted

41. Thus, one link being slipped out, the whole
 chain was quickly broken and scattered. Stone his
 discovery marred for the future all their formal
 meetings, as classically or synodically methodized.
 If any of these ministers hereafter came together,
 it was for visits, not visitations; to enjoy them-
 selves, not enjoin others orders to be observed by
 them.

Perkins'
 piety pro-
 cures his
 peace.

42. Whereas Mr. Stone confesseth their meeting
 in Cambridge, with Mr. Chatterton and others, I
 find some of these others elsewhere specified^s;
 namely, Mr. Perkins and Mr. Thomas Harrison,
 afterwards the reverend vice-master of Trinity Col-
 lege, both of them concurring, though neither of
 them very active in this cause. Mr. Perkins, what-
 soever his judgment was in point of church disci-
 pline, never publicly meddled with it in his preaching,
 and, being pressed by others about the lawfulness of
 subscription, he declined to manifest his opinion
 therein, glad to enjoy his own quiet, and to leave
 others to the liberty of their own consciences.
 Solomon's observation found truth in him, *When a
 man's ways please the Lord, he maketh even his*

^r Brian Twyne in App. Ant.
 Ac. Oxon. [Wood, F. 1, 120.]

^s Dr. Bancroft's English
 Scottizing, &c. p. 89.

enemies to be at peace with him ^t, whose piety ^{A.D 1591.} procured freedom to his preaching and fair respect ^{34 Eliz} to his person, even from those who in affections differed and in opinion dissented from him; for all held Perkins for a prophet—I mean for a painful and faithful dispenser of God's will in his word.

43. But I am weary of writing these sad dissensions in our church, and fain would pass over to some more pleasing subject: from the renting of God's church, to the repairing of it; from the confounding thereof, to the founding and building of some eminent place for learning and religion; but finding none of that nature this very year in England, I am fain to seek one beyond the seas, and at last have lighted on the university and college of Dublin, which now began to be erected.

44. Anciently Ireland was the seminary of saints, people from all parts of Christendom repairing thither, there to find and thence to fetch the perfect pattern of monastical devotion. Many hundred years after, namely, in the reign of king Edward the Second, Alexander Bicknor, archbishop of Dublin, obtained license of the pope to erect an university in Dublin; but the design succeeded not according to his desire and others' expectation. Now at the last the same was effected by royal authority, and a college there erected and dedicated to the holy Trinity. This mindeth me of a pleasant passage: in the reign of king Henry the Eighth, it was enjoined that all churches dedicated to St. Thomas Becket should be new named, and consigned over to some real saint; now whilst country people sat in consultation what new saint

^t Prov. xvi. 7.

A. D. 1591. such churches should assume, being divided in their
34 Ehz. opinions to whom the same should be dedicated, an
 old man gave this advice, "Even dedicate it to the
 " holy Trinity, which will last and continue when
 " all other saints may chance to be taken away."

The several benefactors thereto. 45. Many eminent persons concurred to advance
 so worthy a work ; and because we are to speak of
 a college wherein seniority takes place, we will rank
 these persons, not according to their dignity, but
 time of their benefaction ^u :

i. Henry Usher, then archdeacon of Dublin, bred
 in Cambridge, (afterward archbishop of Armagh,
 and uncle to James Usher, the present archbishop
 thereof,) took a journey with much danger into
 England, and with more difficulty procured the
 mortmain from

ii. Queen Elizabeth, who graciously granted it,
 naming the corporation *Collegium Sanctæ ac Indi-
 viduæ Trinitatis, ex fundatione Reginæ Elizabethæ,
 juxta Dublin.*

iii. William Cecil, baron of Burleigh and treasurer
 of England, is appointed in the mortmain first chan-
 cellor of the university, as being an active instru-
 ment to procure the same.

iv. Sir William Fitz-Williams, lord-deputy of Ire-
 land, whose arms are deservedly graven over the
 college gate, issued out his letters for collection to
 all the counties in Ireland, to advance so good a

^u [According to Parr, James Stanihurst, Usher's maternal grandfather, was the first mover in this business. Parr's Usher, p. 1. See also Smith, Vit. Usserii, p. 6. It was proposed

afterwards that the son of Henry Usher, mentioned below, should have succeeded bishop Bedell in the provostship. Usher's Lett. p. 102.]

design ; and the Irish, though then generally papists, were very bountiful thereunto. A. D. 1591.
34 Eliz.

v. Mr. Luke Chaloner, fellow of Trinity College in Cambridge, received and disbursed the monies, had the oversight of the fabric, which he faithfully procured to be finished, meriting that verse inscribed on his fair monument in Dublin College chapel, built by his daughter * :

*Conditur hoc tumulo Chaloneri triste cadaver,
Cujus ope, et precibus, conditur ista domus.*

“ This tomb within it here contains
Of Chaloner the sad remains ;
By whose prayer and helping hand,
This house erected here doth stand v.”

vi. The mayor and aldermen of Dublin bestowed on the college the site thereof, with some accommodations of considerable grounds about it, being formerly a religious house termed Allhallows, which at the suppression of abbeyes was bestowed on their corporation.

* Since married to the archbishop of Armagh. [See Parr's Usher, p. 14.]

y [A circumstance mentioned by Parr in his Life of Usher, p. 9, ought not to be forgotten : “ that after the “ English forces under lord “ Montjoy had beaten and “ driven out the Spaniards “ who came to the assistance “ of the rebel Irish at Kinsale, “ they resolved to give some “ testimony of the gallantry of “ military men, and that due “ respect which they had for “ true religion and learning ; “ to promote which they raised

“ among themselves the sum “ of 1800*l.* to buy books to “ furnish the library of the “ university of Dublin.” Dr. Challoner and the celebrated James Usher had the disposal of this sum, and by a strange coincidence were employed in procuring books for their college library at the same time that sir Thomas Bodley was buying books for the Bodleian. It is almost needless to add, that they furnished each other mutual assistance in their objects. See also Bernard's Life of Usher, p. 42, ed. 1656.]

A. D. 1591. vii. Adam Loftus, fellow of Trinity College in
 34 Eliz. Cambridge, at this present archbishop of Dublin and
 chancellor of Ireland, was the first master of the
 college, holding it as an honorary title, though not
 so much to receive credit by as to return lustre to
 the place ^z.

viii. Sir Wareham Saint-Leger was very bountiful
 in paying yearly pensions for the maintenance of the
 first students thereof, before the college was en-
 dowed with standing revenues.

ix. Sir Francis Shane, a mere Irishman, but good
 protestant, was a principal benefactor, and kept this
 infant foundation from being strangled in the birth
 thereof.

x. Robert D'Eureux, earl of Essex, lord-lieutenant
 of Ireland, and second chancellor of this university,
 bestowed, at the entreaty of the students of this
 college, a cannoneer's pay, and the pay of certain
 dead places of soldiers, to the value well-nigh of
 four hundred pounds a year, for the scholars' main-
 tenance, which continued for some years.

xi. King James, that great patron of learning, to
 complete all, confirmed the revenues of this college
in perpetuum, endowing it with a great proportion
 of good land in the province of Ulster.

Thus, through many hands, this good work at last
 was finished, the first stone whereof was laid May 13,
 1591; and in the year 1593, scholars were first
 admitted, and the first of them James Usher ^a, since
 archbishop of Armagh, that mirror of learning and
 religion, never to be named by me without thanks

^z[Of whom, see the Worthies, ^a [At the age of thirteen.
 III. 412. Parr's Usher, p. 4.] Parr's Usher, p. 4.]

to him, and to God for him. Nor must it be forgotten, that what Josephus^b reports of the temple built by Herod, κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν οἰκοδομουμένου τοῦ ναοῦ, τὰς μὲν ἡμέρας οὐχ ὕειν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς νυξὶ γίνεσθαι τοὺς ὄμβρους ὥς μὴ κωλύσαι τὸ ἔργον, “during the “time of the building of the temple it rained not “in the daytime, but in the night, that the showers “might not hinder the work,”—I say, what by him is reported hath been avouched to me by witnesses above exception, that the same happened here, from the founding to the finishing of this college; the officious heavens always smiling by day, though often weeping by night, till the work was completed.

46. The whole species of the university of Dublin was for many years preserved in the *individuum* of this one college; but since this instrument hath made better music, when what was but a monochord before hath got two other smaller strings unto it, the addition of New College and Kildare Hall, what remaineth, but that I wish that all those worthy divines bred therein may have their *doctrine drop as the rain, and their speech distil as the dew, as the small rain upon the tender herb, and as the showers upon the grass*^c.

47. Let none censure this for a digression from our Church History of England. His discourse that is resident on the son doth not wholly wander from the father, seeing none will deny but that *proles* is *pars parentis*, “the child is part of the parent.” Dublin University was a *colonia deducta* from Cambridge, and particularly from Trinity College; there-

^A D. 1591.
³⁴ Ehz.

The addition of two emissary hostels.

Dublin a colony of Cambridge

^b Antiq. Jud. XV. 14.

^c Deut. xxxii. 2.

A.D. 1591. in (one motive perchance to the name of it) as may
34 Eliz. appear by the ensuing catalogue of the provosts thereof:

- i. Adam Loftus, fellow of Trinity College, first provost.
- ii. Walter Travers, fellow of the same college, second provost.
- iii. Henry Alvey, fellow of St. John's College in Cambridge, third provost.
- iv. Sir William Temple, (who wrote a learned comment on Ramus,) fellow of King's College, fourth provost.
- v. [William Bedell, fellow of Emmanuel ^c.]
- vi. Joseph Mede, fellow of Christ College in Cambridge, chosen provost, but refused to accept it.
- vii. William Chapel, fellow of the same college, seventh provost.

Know also that this university did so Cantabrize, that she imitated her in the successive choice of her chancellors, the daughter dutifully approving and following the judgment of her mother therein.

The death
of Arthur
Faunt.

48. This year was fatal to no eminent protestant divine, and I find but one of the Romish persuasion dying therein,—Arthur, shall I say? or Laurence Faunt ^d, born of worshipful parentage at Folston in

^c [I do not understand why Fuller has omitted the greatest name of all, bishop Bedell. Usher induced sir William Temple to resign, on the score of infirmity, and would have put in Sibbs, the puritan; but not succeeding in this, Bedell was chosen, who at that time was thought to belong to the party. See Usher's Letters,

375-6. Bedell, however, soon grew sick of the reception which he met with. See his Letters, *ibid.* p. 387.]

^d [See an account of him in Wood's *Athen. I.* 247, who has derived his information from Alegambe's *Bibliotheca Soc. Jesu*, p. 538. See also Mori, *Hist. Soc. Jesu*, p. 17.]

Leicestershire, bred in Merton College in Oxford, A D. 1591.
 whence he fled (with Mr. Potts, his tutor) to Lou- 34 Eliz.
 vain, and never more returned into England. From
 Louvain he removed to Paris, thence to Minchen,
 (an university in Bavaria, where William the duke
 exhibited unto him,) thence to Rome, where he was
 admitted a Jesuit. Hence Pope Gregory the Thir-
 teenth sent him to be governor of the Jesuits' Col-
 lege at Posna in Poland, newly erected by Sigis-
 mund, king thereof. Yea, so great was the fame
 of this Faunt, that, if his own letters may be
 believed, three princes courted him at once to come
 to them. He altered his Christian name of Arthur,
 because, as his kinsman tells us^e, no calendar saint
 was ever of that name, and assumed the name of
 Laurence, dying this year at Vilna in Lituania,
 leaving books of his own making much prized by
 those of his own profession.

49. Now began the heat and height of the sad The contest
betwixt
Hooker and
Travers
 contest betwixt Mr. Richard Hooker, master, and
 Mr. Walter Travers, lecturer of the Temple^t. We

^e Burton's Description of
 Leicestershire, p. 10.

^f [This should rather be
 referred to the year 1585, the
 date of Hooker's appointment
 to the mastership of the Tem-
 ple. The errors which Fuller
 committed in this account of
 Hooker, he afterwards re-
 trenched, according to the tes-
 timony of Isaac Walton. See his
 notice to the reader, prefixed
 to his Life of Hooker. Speak-
 ing of bishop Gauden's Life
 of that eminent writer, Walton
 observes, "I am put upon a
 necessity to say, that in it

" there be many material mis-
 " takes, and more omissions.
 " I conceive some of his mis-
 " takes did proceed from a
 " belief in Mr. Thomas Fuller,
 " who had too hastily published
 " what he hath since most in-
 " geniously retracted."

Since the publication of the
 new edition of Hooker's Works
 by professor Keble, it is hardly
 necessary to state that a full
 and accurate account of this
 controversy will be found in
 the learned editor's Introduc-
 tion.]

A. D. 1591.
34 Eliz. will be the larger in the relating thereof, because we behold their actions not as the deeds of private persons, but the public champions of their party. Now as an army is but a champion diffused, so a champion may be said to be an army contracted. The prelatical party wrought to the height in and for Hooker; nor was the presbyterian power less active in assisting Mr. Travers: both sides being glad they had gotten two such eminent leaders, with whom they might engage with such credit to their cause.

Hooker his
character

50. Hooker was born in Devonshire, bred in Oxford, fellow of Corpus Christi College, one of a solid judgment and great reading; yea, such the depth of his learning, that his pen was a better bucket than his tongue to draw it out; a great defender, both by preaching and writing, of the discipline of the church of England, yet never got nor cared to get any eminent dignity therein—conscience, not covetousness, engaging him in the controversy. Spotless was his conversation; and though some dirt was cast, none could stick on his reputation. Mr. Travers was brought up in Trinity College in Cambridge; and because much of church matter depends upon him, I give the reader the larger account of his carriage.

Travers
takes his
orders be-
yond seas.

51. Travers, meeting with some discontents in the college after the death of Dr. Beaumont, (in whose time he was elected fellow,) took occasion to travel beyond seas, and, coming to Geneva, contracted familiarity with Mr. Beza and other foreign divines, with whom he, by letters, continued correspondence till the day of his death^g. Then returned

^g [Archbishop Whitgift, in ing of Travers, says, "I did a letter to lord Burghley, speak- elect him fellow of Trinity

he, and commenced bachelor of divinity in Cambridge; and after that went beyond sea again, and at Antwerp was ordained minister by the presbytery there, whose testimonial I have here faithfully transcribed out of the original:

A.D. 1591
34 Eliz.

“ Quum multis de causis sit et æquum et consultum unumquemque eorum qui ad verbi Dei ministerium asciscuntur, vocationis suæ testimonium habere; asserimus, coacta Antuerpiæ ad 8 Majj, 1578, duodecim ministrorum verbi cum totidem fere senioribus synodo, præstantissimum pietate et eruditione virum ac fratrem reverendum *Doctorem Gualterum Traverseum*, omnium qui aderant suffragiis ardentissimisque votis, consueto ritu fuisse in sancto verbi Dei ministerio institutum, precibusque ac manuum impositione confirmatum. Postero autem die post sabbatum ab illo in frequenti Anglorum cœtu concionem, rogante eo qui a synodo delegatus erat ministro, propensissimisque totius ecclesiæ animis acceptum fuisse. Quod quidem Domini ac fratris nostri colendi

“ College, being before rejected by Dr. Beaumont for his intolerable stomach; whereof I had also afterwards such experience, that I was forced by due punishment so to weary him, till he was fain to travel, and depart from the college to Geneva, otherwise he should have been expelled from want of conformity towards the orders of the house, and for his pertinacy. Neither was there ever any under our govern-

“ ment in whom I found less submission and humility than in him.” Walton’s Life of Hooker, in Keble’s edition, p. 30. Travers’s name is continually found coupled with those of the most violent presbyterians, in their letters published by bishop Bancroft in his *Dangerous Positions*. See pp. 162, 157, where Hacket desires to have a conference with him, as late as this year 1591, pp. 150, 119, 42, 80.]

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

A D. 1591. " apud Anglos ministerium, ut benignitate sua Deus
 34 Eliz.

" omnipotens donorum suorum incremento et am-
 " plissimo functionis ejus fructu ornare dignetur,
 " enixe precamur per Jesum Christum. Amen.

" Dat. Antwerpiae, 14 Maij, 1578.

" Det Logelerius Vilerius, verbi Dei minister, et
 " Johannes Hochelcus, verbi Dei minister.

" JOHANNES TAFFINUS,

" Verbi Dei Minister."

Thus put in orders by the presbytery of a foreign nation, he continued there some years, preached (with Mr. Cartwright) unto the English factory of merchants at Antwerp; until at last he came over into England, and for seven years together became lecturer in the Temple, refusing all presentative preferment to decline subscription, and lived domestic chaplain in the house of the lord treasurer Cecil, being tutor for a time to Robert his son, afterwards earl of Salisbury; and although there was much heaving and shoving at him, as one disaffected to the discipline, yet God's goodness, his friends' greatness, and his own honesty, kept him (but with much difficulty) in his ministerial employment.

He, with Mr. Cartwright, invited to be divinity professors in St. Andrew's.

52. Yea, now so great grew the credit and reputation of Mr. Travers, that, by the advice of Mr. Andrew Melvin, he and Mr. Cartwright were solemnly sent for, to be divinity professors in the university of St. Andrew's, as by this autograph (which I have in my hands, and here think fit to exemplify) may plainly appear :

" Magno quidem, fratres charissimi, gaudio nos
 " afficit constantia vestra, et invicta illa animi for-

“titudo, qua contra Satanæ imperium et reluctant- A.D. 1591.
 “tem Christi imperio mundi fastum armavit vos 34 Ediz.
 “Domini Spiritus, in asserenda apud populares ves-
 “tros ecclesiæ suæ disciplina. Sed permolestum
 “tamen nobis semper fuit, pertinaci inimicorum odio
 “et violentia factum esse, ut cum latere et solum
 “subinde vertere cogimini, minus aliquanto fructus
 “ex laboribus vestris ad pios omnes perveniat, quam
 “si docendo publice et concionando destinatam
 “ecclesiæ Dei operam navare licuisset. Hoc quia
 “in patria vobis negatum videbamus, non aliud
 “nobis magis in votis erat, quam ut exulanti in
 “vobis Christo hospitium aliquod in ultima Scotia
 “præberetur. Quod ut fieri non incommode possit,
 “speramus longo nos conatu perfecisse.

“Vetus est et non ignobilis apud nos academia
 “Andreana; in qua cum aliæ artes, tum philosophia
 “imprimis ita hucusque culta fuit, ut quod ab ex-
 “teris nationibus peteretur, parum nobis, aut nihil
 “in eo genere deesset. Verum divina illa sapientia,
 “quam vel solam, vel præcipuam colere Christianos
 “deceat, neglecta diu in scholis jacuit; quod a prima
 “statim religionis instauratione, summus omnium
 “ardor exstaret in erudienda plebe; in aliis ad
 “sacrum verbi ministerium instituendis paucissimi
 “laborarent: non leve ut periculum subesset, ne
 “(quod propitius nobis Deus avertat) concionatorum
 “aliquando inopia periret, quod tanta cum spe in
 “hominum animos conjectum est veræ pietatis
 “semen.

“Animadvertit hoc tandem ecclesiasticus senatus,
 “et cum rege regnique proceribus diligenter egit,
 “ne hanc officii sui et solitudinis partem deside-
 “rari amplius paterentur. Placuit et summo om-

A. D. 1591. “nium applausu in proximis ordinum comitiis decre-
 34 Eliz. tum est, ut quod amplitudine ceteris et opulentia
 “collegium præstat theologiæ perpetuo studiis con-
 “secretur: utque ad verbi Dei ministerium nemo
 “admittatur, nisi linguarum, utriusque testamenti
 “et locorum communium curriculo prius confecto:
 “confici autem quadriennii spacio a quinque pro-
 “fessoribus posse. Ex hoc numero adhuc desunt
 “*Thomas Cartwrightus* et *Gualterus Traversus*: reli-
 “quos nobis domi ecclesia nostra suppeditabit.
 “Messem hic videtis singulari vestra eruditione et
 “pietate non indignam. Ad quam pius vos princeps
 “et proceres nostri; ad quam boni vos omnes et
 “fratres vestri; ad quam Christi vos ecclesia et
 “Christus ipse operarios invitat. Reliquum est, ut
 “humanissime vocantes sequi velitis; et ad docendi
 “hanc provinciam, vobis honorificam, ecclesiæ Dei
 “salutarem maturetis; magnas a principe, majores
 “a Christi ecclesia, maximas et immortales a maximo
 “et immortalis Deo gratias inituri. Quod ut sine
 “mora facere dignemini, per eum ipsum vos etiam
 “atque etiam obtestamur, cui acceptum ferri debet,
 “quod ecclesiæ filii sui prodesse tantopere possitis.
 “Valete. Edinburgi.

“Ja. Glasgney, Academiæ Cancelarius. Alaynus
 “Rector. Thomas Smetonius, Decanus.

“ANDREAS MELVINUS,

“Collegii Præfectus.

“MR. DAVID WEMS,

“Minister Glascoviensis.”

This proffer both jointly refused, with return of
 their most affectionate thanks; and such who know
 least are most bold in their conjectures to adventure

at the reasons of their refusal: as, that they would not leave the sun on their backs, and remove so far north, or they were discouraged with the slenderness of the salary assigned unto them. In plain truth they were loth to leave, and their friends loth to be left by them, conceiving their pains might as well be bestowed in their native country; and Travers quietly continued lecturer at the Temple, till Mr. Hooker became the master thereof.

53. Mr. Hooker his voice was low, stature little, gesture none at all, standing stone-still in the pulpit, as if the posture of his body were the emblem of his mind, unmovable in his opinions. Where his eye was left fixed at the beginning, it was found fixed at the end of his sermon. In a word, the doctrine he delivered had nothing but itself to garnish it. His style was long and pithy, driving on a whole flock of several clauses before he came to the close of a sentence; so that when the copiousness of his style met not with proportionable capacity in his auditors, it was unjustly censured for perplexed, tedious, and obscure. His sermons followed the inclination of his studies, and were for the most part on controversies and deep points of school divinity^h.

54. Mr. Travers his utterance was graceful, ges-
The description of Travers.

^h [“ In Hooker’s Answer to his Supplication, it appears there was a conference between them (sc. Travers and Hooker) at Hooker’s first coming to the Temple, where in Travers took the freedom to tell him some of his faults: as his praying in the entrance of his sermon only, and not “ in the end; likewise naming “ *bishops* in his prayer; also “ kneeling when he prayed, “ and kneeling when he received the communion, and “ suchlike.” Strype’s Ann. III. 243. It seems from this that Hooker used the form of bidding-prayer.]

A D. 1591.
34 Eliz. ture plausible, matter profitable, method plain, and his style carried in it *indolem pietatis*, a genius of grace flowing from his sanctified heart. Some say that the congregation in the Temple ebbed in the forenoon and flowed in the afternoon, and that the auditory of Mr. Travers was far the more numerousⁱ, the first occasion of emulation betwixt them; but such as knew Mr. Hooker, knew him to be too wise to take exception at such trifles, the rather because the most judicious is always the least part in all auditories.

They clash
about mat-
ters of doc-
trine

55. Here might one, on Sundays, have seen almost as many writers as hearers: not only young students, but even the gravest benchers, (such as sir Edward Cook and sir James Altham then were,) were not more exact in taking instructions from their clients, than in writing notes from the mouths of their ministers. The worst was, these two preachers, though joined in affinity, (their nearest kindred being married together,) acted with different principles, and clashed one against another; so that what Mr. Hooker delivered in the forenoon, Mr. Travers confuted in the afternoon. At the building of Solomon's temple, (1 Kings vi. 7,) *neither hammer, nor axe, nor tool of iron was heard therein*; whereas, alas¹ in this Temple not only much knocking was heard, but (which was the worst) the nails and pins which one master-builder drave in were driven out

ⁱ [This is not surprising; this time the Temple heard for Alvey, Hooker's predecessor in the mastership of the little else than the doctrines of Geneva. "It was a custom Temple, entertained the same" also, in Mr. Alvey's time, to principles as Travers. Walton's "receive the communion sit- Hooker, pp. 27, 51, n.; so until "ting." Strype, ib.]

by the other. To pass by lesser differences betwixt A.D. 1591.
 them about predestination, 34 Eliz.

Hooker maintained

The church of Rome, though not a pure and perfect, yet is a true church; so that such who live and die therein ^j, upon their repentance of all their sins of ignorance, may be saved ^k.

Travers defended

The church of Rome is no true church at all; so that such as live and die therein, holding justification in part by works, cannot be said by the scriptures to be saved.

Thus much disturbance was caused, to the disquieting of people's consciences, the disgrace of the ordinance, the advantage of the common enemy, and the dishonour of God himself.

56. Here archbishop Whitgift interposed his power, and silenced Travers from preaching either in the Temple or any where else. It was laid to his charge, 1, That he was no lawful ordained minister, according to the church of England; 2ndly, That he preached here without license; 3rdly, That he had broken the order made in the seventh year of her majesty's reign, wherein it was provided, "That erroneous doctrine, if it came to be publicly taught, should not be publicly refuted, but that notice thereof should be given to the ordinary, to hear and determine such causes, to prevent public disturbance."

57. As for Travers his silencing, many which were well pleased with the deed done were offended at the manner of doing it; for all the congregation

^j Being weak, ignorant, and seduced.

^k [See Walton's Life of Hooker, p. 55.]

Travers is silenced by the archbishop

Many pleased with the deed, but not with the manner of doing it.

A. D. 1591. on a sabbath, in the afternoon, were assembled
34 Eliz. together, their attention prepared, the cloth (as I may say) and napkins were laid, yea, the guests sat, and their knives drawn for their spiritual repast, when suddenly, as Mr. Travers was going up into the pulpit, a sorry fellow served him with a letter, prohibiting him to preach any more. In obedience to authority, (the mild and constant submission whereunto won him respect with his adversaries,) Mr. Travers calmly signified the same to the congregation, and requested them quietly to depart to their chambers. Thus was our good *Zaccarias struck dumb in the temple*, but not for infidelity, impartial people accounting his fault at most but indiscretion. Meantime his auditory (pained that their pregnant expectation to hear him preach should so publicly prove abortive, and sent sermonless home) manifested in their variety of passion, some grieving, some frowning, some murmuring; and the wisest sort, who held their tongues, shook their heads, as disliking the managing of the matter.

Travers his
 plea in his
 petition.

58. Travers addressed himself by petition to the lords of the privy council, (where his strength lay, as Hooker's, in the archbishop of Canterbury and high commission,) grievously complained that he was punished before he was heard, silenced (by him apprehended the heaviest penalty) before sent for, contrary to equity and reason, *the law condemning none before it hear him, and know what he hath done* ^m.

i. To the exception against the lawfulness of his ministry, he pleaded that the communion of saints

^m John vii 51.

allows ordination legal in any Christian church. A.D. 1591.
 Orders herein are like degrees, and a doctor graduated in any university hath his title and place granted him in all Christendom. 34 Eliz.

ii. For want of license to preach, he pleaded that he was recommended to this place of the Temple by two letters of the bishop of London, the diocesan thereof.

iii. His anti-preaching in the afternoon against what was delivered before, he endeavoured to excuse by the example of St. Paul, *who gave not place to Peter, no, not an hour, that the truth of the gospel might continue amongst them* ⁿ.

But we are too tedious herein, especially seeing his petition is publicly extant in print, with Mr. Hooker his answer thereunto, whither we refer the reader for his more ample satisfaction ^o.

59. By the way it must not be forgotten, that in ^{A charitable adversary.} the very midst of the paroxysm betwixt Hooker and Travers, the latter still bare (and none can challenge the other to the contrary) a reverend esteem of his adversary; and when an unworthy aspersion, some years after, was cast on Hooker, (if Christ was dashed, shall Christians escape clean in their journey to heaven?) Mr. Travers, being asked of a private friend what he thought of the truth of that accusation, "In truth," said he, "I take Mr. Hooker to be a holy man;"—a speech which, coming from an adversary, sounds no less to the commendation of his charity who spake it, than to the praise of his piety of whom it was spoken.

ⁿ Gal. ii. 5. [See his letter in the Appendix.]

^o [At the conclusion of the Ecclesiastical Polity.]

A. D 1591.

34 Eliz

Travers
must have
no favour.

60. The council-table was much divided about Travers his petition. All Whitgift's foes were *ipso facto* made Travers his favourers; besides, he had a large stock of friends on his own account. But Whitgift's finger moved more in church matters than all the hands of all the privy counsellors besides; and he was content to suffer others to be believed (and perchance to believe themselves) great actors in church government, whilst he knew he could and did do all things himself therein. No favour must be afforded Travers on any terms: 1. Dangerous was his person, a Cartwright junior, none in England either more loving Geneva or more beloved by it. 2ndly. Dangerous the place, the Temple being one of the inns (therefore a public) of court, therefore a principal place; and to suffer one opposite to the English discipline to continue lecturer there, what was it but in effect to retain half the lawyers of England to be of counsel against the ecclesiastical government thereof. 3rdly. Dangerous the precedent: this leading case would be presumed on for others to follow, and a rank's breaking may be an army's ruining.

Whitgift
his politic
carriage.

61. This was the constant custom of Whitgift: if any lord or lady sued to him to shew favour for their sakes to nonconformists, his answer to them was rather respectful to the requester than satisfactory to the request. He would profess how glad he was to serve them, and gratify them in compliance with their desire, assuring them for his part all possible kindness should be indulged unto them; but, in fine, he would remit nothing of his rigour against them. Thus he never denied any great man's desire, and yet never granted it; pleasing

them for the present with general promises, (and in ^{A D. 1591.} them not dissembling, but using discreet and right ^{34 Eliz.} expressions,) still kept constant to his own resolution. Hereupon afterwards the nobility surceased making more suits unto him, as ineffectual, and even left all things to his own disposal.

62. Thus Mr. Travers, notwithstanding the plenty of his potent friends, was overborne by the arch-^{Travers goeth into Ireland, and returneth.}bishop, and, as he often complained, could never obtain to be brought to a fair hearing. But his grief hereat was something abated, when Adam Loftus, archbishop of Dublin and chancellor of Ireland, (his ancient colleague in Cambridge,) invited him over to be provost of Trinity College in Dublin. Embracing the motion, over he went, accepting the place, and continued some years therein; till, discomposed with the fear of their civil wars, he returned into England, and lived here many years very obscurely, (though in himself a shining light,) as to the matter of outward maintenance.

63. Yet had he Agur's wish, *neither poverty nor riches*, though his enough seemed to be of shortest ^{His contented life, and quiet death.}size. It matters not whether men's means be mounted or their minds descend, so be it that both meet, as here in him, in a comfortable contentment. Yea, when the right reverend and religious James Usher (then bishop of Meath, since archbishop of Armagh, brought up under him, and with him agreeing in doctrine, though dissenting in discipline) proffered money unto him for his relief, Mr. Travers returned a thankful refusal thereof^P. Sometimes

^P [Usher was no otherwise, I imagine, brought up under Travers, than as far as the latter was provost of Trinity College, Dublin, during some period of Usher's studies there. In 1593

A. D. 1591.
34 Eliz.

he did preach, rather when he durst than when he would, debarred from all cure of souls by his nonconformity. He lived and died unmarried; and though leaving many nephews, some eminent scholars, bequeathed all his books of oriental languages, (wherein he was exquisite,) and plate worth fifty pounds, to Sion College in London. Oh if this good man had had an hand to his heart, or rather a purse to his hand, what charitable works would he have left behind him! But, in pursuance of his memory, I have intrenched too much on the modern times; only this I will add, perchance the reader will be angry with me for saying thus much, and I am almost angry with myself for saying no more of so worthy a divine.

The death
of worthy
Mr. Green-
ham, of the
plague;

64. Return we to the year 1592, which we find in London filled with funerals, so that within twelve months moe than ten thousand were swept away therein of the plague, and amongst them reverend Mr. Richard Greenham, the reason why we find not the exact date of his death^q. In contagious times, the corpses of those who, living, were best beloved, are rather hurried than carried to the grave; and in such confusions, those parishes who have the best memories prove forgetful, their registers being either carelessly kept or totally omitted. Thus our Greenham was mortally visited with the plague, whereof we find Munster, Franciscus Junius, Chimidontius, and other worthy divines, formerly deceased in Germany; that patent of preservation against the

Usher was entered there, being then thirteen years of age.]

^q [See some account of him in Strype's Annals, II. 4, IV.

607. A Life of Greenham will also be found in Clarke's Martyrology. Lives of Thirty-two English Divines, p. 12.]

pestilence, *A thousand shall fall at thy side, and ten thousand at thy right hand; but it shall not come nigh thee*^r, running (as all other temporal promises) with this secret clause of revocation, if God in his wisdom were not pleased otherwise to countermand it.

65. It may be said of some persons, in reference to their history, that they were born men; namely, such of whose birth and youth we find no particular account. Greenham is one of these, for, for want of better intelligence, we find him full-grown at the first, when, *anno Domini* , he was admitted into Pembroke Hall in Cambridge; in which house, some years after, the youth of Mr. Lancelot Andrews^s (afterwards bishop of Winchester) was well acquainted with Mr. Greenham; and I dare boldly say, if Greenham gained any learning by Andrews, Andrews lost no religion by Greenham. He afterwards left the university, and became minister three miles off, at Dry Drayton.

66. Dry Drayton, indeed, which, though often watered with Mr. Greenham's tears, and oftener with his prayers and preaching, moistened the rich with his counsel, the poor with his charity, neither produced proportionable fruitfulness. The generality of his parish remained ignorant and obstinate, to their pastor's great grief, and their own greater damage and disgrace. Hence the verses,

“ Greenham had pastures green,
But sheep full lean.”

Thus God alone is the good shepherd, who doth

^r Psalm xci. 7.

in making some of Mr. Green-

^s Some say he had an hand ham's works.

A. D. 1591.
34 Ehz.

Fellow of
Pembroke
Hall in
Cambridge.

He is hum-
bled with
an obstinate
parish.

A. D. 1592. feed and can fat his sheep, and can make them to
 35 Eliz. thrive under his keeping.

His dex-
 terity in
 healing
 afflicted
 consciences.

67. He used often, at the entreaty of some doctors, to preach at St. Mary's in Cambridge, where, sometimes so great his zeal in pressing important points, that he hath lost himself in the driving home of some application, even to the forgetting of his text, (as himself would confess,) till he recovered the same on some short recollection. He always bitterly inveighed against non-residents, professing that he wondered how such men could take any comfort in their wealth; "for methinks," saith he, "they should see written on every thing which they 'have *pretium sanguinis*—'this is the price of 'blood.'" But his masterpiece was in comforting wounded consciences; for, although heaven's hand can only set a broken heart, yet God used him herein as an instrument of good to many, who came to him with weeping eyes, and went from him with cheerful souls. The breath of his gracious counsel blew up much smoking flax into a blazing flame.

He, leaving
 his cure,
 cometh to
 London.

68. Hereupon the importunity of his friends (if herein they proved so) persuaded him to leave his parish and remove to London, where his public parts might be better advantaged for the general good. They pleaded the little profit of his long pains to so poor and peevish a parish; pity it was so good a fisherman should cast his nets elsewhere than in that ocean of people; what was Dry Drayton but a bushel to hide, London an high candlestick to hold up the brightness of his parts? Over-entreated by others, even almost against his own judgment, he resigned his cure to a worthy successor, and repaired to London; where, after some years' preaching up

and down in no constant place, he was resident on A. D. 1592.
 no cure, but the curing of consciences. I am cre- 35 Eliz.
 dibly informed ^t he in some sort repented his removal
 from his parish, and disliked his own erratical and
 planetary life, which made him fix himself preacher
 at last at Christ Church in London, where he ended
 his days.

69. He lived sermons, and was most precise in A great in-
 his conversation; a strict observer of the Lord's day, strument of
 and a great advancer thereof through the whole the good
 realm by that treatise which he wrote of the sabbath. keeping of
the Lord's
day.
 No book in that age made greater impression on
 people's practice, as one ^u (then a great wit in the
 university, now a grave wisdom in our church) hath
 ingeniously expressed:

"On Mr. Greenham's Book of the Sabbath.

"While Greenham writeth on the sabbath's rest,
 His soul enjoys not what his pen express'd;
 His work enjoys not what itself doth say,
 For it shall never find one resting day.
 A thousand hands shall toss each page and line,
 Which shall be scanned by a thousand eie;
 That sabbath's rest, or this sabbath's unrest,
 Hard is to say whether's the happiest."

Thus godly Greenham is fallen asleep. We softly
 draw the curtains about him, and so proceed to
 other matter ^x.

^t By my own father, Mr. Thomas Fuller, who was well
 acquainted with him. which were somewhat nume-
 rous, is given by bishop Tanner
 in his Bibliotheca Historica, p.
 341.]

^u Mr. Joseph Hall.

^x [A list of his writings,

SECT. VIII.

TO THE

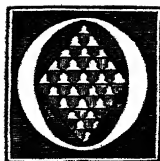
LADY ANNE ARCHER,

OF TAMWORTH, IN WARWICKSHIRE ^a.

Madam,

You, being so good a housewife, know far better than I how much strength and handsomeness good hemming addeth to the end of a cloth. I therefore, being now to put a period to this long and important century, (as big as the whole book besides, but chiefly containing the reign, the honour of your sex and our nation,) have resolved, to prevent the unravelling thereof, to close and conclude it with this dedication to your ladyship; on which account alone you are placed last in this book, though otherwise the first and freest in encouraging my weak endeavours.

^a [Daughter of sir John Ferrers, of Tamworth, knight. She was married to sir S. Archer, whose munificence to literature and learned men is celebrated both by Dugdale, (History of Warwickshire, p. 781, ed. by Thomas,) as also by Fuller, in the previous part of this history. The arms of the Ferrers are varyry or and gules.]



OF Mr. Udal's death come we now to ^{A. D. 1591.} ^{35 Eliz.} treat. Through some defect in the records ^b, (transposed or lost,) we cannot tell the certain day of Mr. Udal's ^{The uncertain date of Mr. Udal's death.} condemnation and death ^c; but this

appears in the office, that two years since (viz. 32nd of Eliz., July 23) he was indicted and arraigned at Croydon, for defaming the queen her government in a book by him written, and entitled, "A demonstration of the Discipline which Christ hath prescribed in his Word for the government of his Church, in all times and places, until the world's end." But the *mortal words* (as I may term them) are found in the preface of his book, written "to the supposed governors of the church of England, archbishops, bishops, &c.," and are inserted in the body of his indictment as followeth :

"Who can without blushing deny you to be the cause of all ungodliness, seeing your government is that which giveth leave to a man to be any thing saving a sound Christian? For, certainly, it is more free in these days to be a papist, anabaptist, of the family of love, yea, any most wicked whatsoever, than that which we should be; and I could live these twenty years any such in England, (yea, in a bishop's house, it may be,) and never be much molested for it: so true is that which you are charged with in a Dialogue lately come forth against you, and since burned

^b Searched by me and my friends in the office of the clerk of assize for Surrey.

^c [For the particulars relative to Udal's trial and con-

demnation, see Strype's Annals, IV. p. 21, sq. He died in a prison called the White Lion, Southwark.]

A. D. 1592. “ by you, that you care for nothing but the main-
35 Eliz. “ tenance of your dignities, be it to the damnation
 “ of your own souls, and infinite millions moe.”

To this indictment he pleaded not guilty, denying himself to be the author of the book. Next day he was cast by the jury, and submitted himself to the mercy of the court, whereby he prevailed that judgment against him was respited till the next assizes, and he remanded to the Marshalsea.

Mr. Udal
 his suppli-
 cation to
 the lords of
 the assizes.

2. March following, (the 33rd of queen Elizabeth,) he was brought again to the bar before the judges, to whom he had privately presented a petition with all advantage, but it found no entertainment; inso-much that in this month of March^d, (the day not appearing in the records,) he, at the assizes held in Southwark, was there condemned to be executed for a felon.

Various
 censures on
 his con-
 demnation.

3. Various were men's censures on these proceed-ings against him. Some conceived it rigorous in the greatest (which at the best is cruel in the least) degree, considering the worth of his person and weakness of the proof against him; for he was a learned man, blameless for his life, powerful in his praying, and no less profitable than painful in his preaching: for as Musculus in Germany, if I mistake not, first brought in the plain but effectual manner of preaching by use and doctrine, so Udal was the first who added reasons thereunto, the strength and sinews of a sermon. His English-Hebrew Grammar he made whilst in prison, as appears by a subscription in the close thereof. The

^d [In 1591, according to Strype, *ib.* p. 24.]

proof was not pregnant, and it is generally believed ^{A. D. 1592.} that he made only the preface (out of which his ^{35 Eliz.} indictment was chiefly framed) and not the body of the book laid to his charge; besides, it was harsh to inflict immediate and direct death for a consequential and deductory felony, it being penhoused out beyond the foundation and intent of the statute to build the indictment thereupon. Others thought that some exemplary severity was necessary, not only to pinion the wings of such pamphlets from flying abroad, but even thereby to crush their eggs in the nest. Surely the multitude of visits unto him, during his durance, no whit prolonged his life; for flocking to popular prisoners in such cases is as ominous a presage of their death, as the flying and fluttering of ravens near and about the house and chamber of a sick body.

4. But an higher Judge had formerly passed ^{He died} another sentence on Udal's death, that his soul and ^{peaceably} body should not by shameful violence be forced ^{in his bed.} asunder, but that they should take a fair farewell each of other. How long he lived after his condemnation we know not, there being a tradition that sir Walter Raleigh procured a reprieve in a fair way to his pardon: this is certain, that without any other sickness, save heart-broken with sorrow, he ended his days. Right glad were his friends that his death prevented his *death*; and the wisest of his foes were well contented therewith, esteeming it better that his candle should go than be put out, lest the snuff should be unsavoury to the survivors, and his death be charged as a cruel act on the account of the procurers thereof.

5. The ministers of London flocked to his funeral, ^{His solemn} ^{burial.}

A. D. 1593
36 Eliz. and he was decently interred in the churchyard of St. George's in Southwark, not far from bishop Bonner's grave; so near may their bodies, when dead, in posture be together, whose minds, when living, in opinion were far asunder. Nor have I aught else to observe of him, save that I am informed that he was father of Ephraim Udal, a solid and pious divine, dying in our days, but in point of discipline of a different opinion from his father^e.

H. B.,
I. G., and
I. P. executed.

6. And now, the sword of justice being once drawn, it was not put up again into the sheath before others were executed; for Henry Barrow, gentleman, and John Greenwood, clerk, (who some days before were indicted of felony at the sessions hall without Newgate, before the lord mayor and the two chief justices, for writing certain seditious pamphlets,) were hanged at Tyburn^f; and not long after John Penry, a Welshman, was apprehended at Stevenhith, by the vicar thereof, arraigned and condemned of felony at the King's Bench at Westminster, for being a principal penner and publisher of a libellous book called "*Martin Mar-Prelates*," and executed at St. Thomas Waterings. Daniel Studley, girdler, Saxio Billot, gentleman, and Robert Bowley, fishmonger, were also condemned for publishing scandalous books; but not finding their execution, I believe them reprieved and pardoned^g.

^e [Author of a celebrated tract against sacrilege, entitled "*Noli me tangere*, or a thing to be thought on," published in 1641. He suffered more for truth and order than did his father for irregular and misdirected zeal, being persecuted

by the presbyterians, and at last, in his old age, turned out of his living by the parliament, and literally left with an aged wife to die in the streets. See Wood's Fast. I. 251.]

^f Stow's Chron. p. 765.

^g [Of Penry and his indict-

7. About this time, if not somewhat sooner, (for A. D. 1593.
36 Eliz. my inquiry cannot arrive at the certain date,) queen Elizabeth took her last farewell of Oxford, where The queen's
last coming
to Oxford. a divinity act was kept before her, on this question, "Whether it be lawful to dissemble in matters of religion?" One of the opponents endeavoured to prove the affirmative by his own example,—“Who then did what was lawful, and yet he dissembled in disputing against the truth?”—the queen being well pleased at the wittiness of the argument ^b. Dr. Westphaling, (who had divers years been bishop of Hereford,) coming then to Oxford, closed all with a learned determination, wherein no fault, except somewhat too copious, not to say tedious; at that time her highness intending that night to make a speech, and thereby disappointed.

8. Next day her highness made a Latin oration Her Latin
oration. to the heads of houses, (on the same token she therein gave a check to Dr. Reynolds for his non-conformity,) in the midst whereof, perceiving the old lord Burleigh stand by, with his lame legs, she would not proceed till she saw him provided of a stool ⁱ, and then fell to her speech again, as sensible of no interruption; having the command as well of her Latin tongue as of her loyal subjects.

ment, see Strype's Annals, IV. p. 176, sq. Life of Whitgift, p. 409, sq. See also an important tract, entitled "The Examinations of Henry Barrow, John Greenwood, and John Penry, before the High Commissioners and Lords of the Council; penned by the prisoners themselves before

"their deaths." Printed in 1586, and reprinted in the Harleian Miscellany, II. p. 10. Some of Penry's letters to queen Elizabeth may be found in Pagitt's Heresiography, p. 271.]

^b Sir J. Harrington's State of the Church, II. 180.

ⁱ Idem, p. 182.

A.D. 1593
36 Ehz.

9. John Piers, archbishop of York, ended his life^k, dean of Christ Church in Oxford, bishop of Rochester, Salisbury, and archbishop of York. When newly beneficed a young man in Oxfordshire, he had drowned his good parts in drunkenness, conversing with his country parishioners; but on the confession of his fault to a grave divine, reformed his conversation, so applying himself to his studies that he deservedly gained great preferment, and was highly esteemed by queen Elizabeth, whose almoner he continued for many years; and he must be a wise and good man whom that thrifty princess would entrust with distributing her money. He was one of the most grave and reverend prelates of his age, and after his reduced life so abstemious, that his physician in his old age could not persuade him to drink wine; so habited he was in sobriety, in detestation of his former excess^l.

The death
of bishop
Elmar.

10. The same year died John Aylmer, bishop of London^m, bred in Cambridge, well learned, as appeareth by his book titled "The Harborough of "Princes;" one of a low stature, but stout spirit, very valiant in his youth, and witty all his lifeⁿ. Once when his auditory began at sermon to grow dull in their attentions, he presently read unto them many verses out of the Hebrew text; whereat they

^k [Sept. 28, 1594]

^l [See some account of him in Wood's *Athen.* I. 713, and in Strype's *Annals*, IV. 202, taken from the sermon preached at the bishop's funeral by Dr. King. Fuller's remarks upon his dissolute conduct during his youth seem rather contra-

dictory to what is stated by Dr. King. Indeed most of these anecdotes respecting the bishops of this reign were derived from sir John Harrington, a courtier and a wit,—a writer whose credit is very doubtful.]

^m [June 3, 1594.]

ⁿ [Strype's *Aylmer*, p. 20.]

all started, admiring what use he meant to make thereof. Then shewed he them their folly, that ^{A. D. 1593.} ^{36 Eliz.} whereas they neglected English, whereby they might be edified, they listened to Hebrew, whereof they understood not a word. He was a stiff and stern champion of church discipline, on which account none more mocked by Martin Mar-Prelate, or hated by nonconformists. To his eldest son he left a plentiful estate; and his second, a doctor of divinity, was a worthy man of his profession °.

11. But, of the Romanists, two principal pillars ended their lives beyond the seas: first, William ^{The death of William Reginald} Reginald, *alias* Rose, born at Pinho in Devonshire p, bred in Winchester School, then in New College in Oxford. Forsaking his country, he went to Rome, and there solemnly abjured the protestant religion; and thereupon was permitted to read (a favour seldom or never bestowed on such novices) any protestant books, without the least restriction, presuming on his zeal in their cause. From Rome he removed to Rheims in France, where he became professor of divinity and Hebrew, in the English college; where, saith my author q, with studying, writing, and preaching against the protestants, perchance he exhausted himself with too much labour, and, breaking a vein, almost lost his life with vomit-

° [Strype, *ib.* p. 134.]

p Pitz [in *Vita*, p. 790 Wood's *Ath. I.* 267 He was brother of the celebrated John Rainolds, of Corpus Christi College, who in the earlier part of his life was as zealous a Romanist as his brother was a protestant, but the one labour-

ing to convince the other, they succeeded so effectually, that each changed sides; William became one of the most eminent and laborious of the ultra-Romanists, and his brother John distinguished himself as the leader of the ultra-protestant party.]

q *Ibidem.*

A.D. 1594-
37 Eliz. ing of blood. Recovering his strength, he vowed to spend the rest of his life in writing against protestants; and death at Antwerp seized on him, the twenty-fourth of August, (the fiftieth year of his age,) as he was a making of a book called "*Calvino-Turcismus*;" which after, by his dear friend William Gifford^r, was finished, set forth, and dedicated to Albert duke of Austria.

The death
of cardinal
Allen.

12. William Allen, commonly called the cardinal of England^s, followed him into another world, born of honest parents, and allied to noble kindred in Lancashire; brought up at Oxford in Oriel College, where he was proctor of the university in the days of queen Mary, and afterwards head of St. Mary Hall, and canon of York; but on the change of religion he departed the land, and became professor of divinity at Douay in Flanders, then canon of Cambray, master of the English college at Rheims, made cardinal 1587, August the seventh, by pope Sixtus Quintus; the king of Spain bestowing on him an abbey in the kingdom of Naples^t, and nominating him to be archbishop of Mechlin; but death arrested him to pay the debt to nature, October sixteenth^u, and he was buried in the church of the English college at Rome. This is that Allen whom we have so often mentioned, conceived so great a champion for their cause, that pope Gregory the Thirteenth said to his cardinals, "*Venite fratres mei, ostendam vobis Alanum* x;" which the author thus translates, or rather com-

^r [Concerning whom, see Wood's Athen I. 531.]

^s [Wood's Ath. I. 268]

^t Camd. Eliz. in hoc anno

^u Pitz. in Vita, p. 793.

^x Watson's Quodlibets, p. 97.

ments on: "Come, my brethren, and I will shew A. D. 1594
 "you a man, in Anglia born, to whom all Europe 37 Ehz.
 "may give place for his high prudence, reverend
 "countenance, and purport of government." His
 loss was much lamented by the catholics, (not with-
 out cause,) whose gravity and authority had done
 many good offices in composing the grudgings which
 began to grow betwixt secular priests and Jesuits;
 which private heartburnings, soon after his death,
 blazed out in the prison of Wisbich into an open
 scandal, as now we come to report γ .

13. Here I protest (though uncertain how far to A sad sub-
 find belief) that I take no delight in relating these ject to
 discontents, much less shall my pen widen the write of
Christian
discords.

γ [Cardinal Allen was much
 beloved by the secular priests.
 It might almost be said that he
 was the only person at that
 time who, by his eminence and
 character, had sufficient au-
 thority to control the Jesuits,
 then beginning to shew some-
 what of their ambitious spirit.
 Watson describes him, in his
 quaint way, as "a man in
 "whose very countenance was
 "pourtrayed out a map of po-
 "litical government indeed,
 "stained with a sable dye of
 "gravity, sublimated with a
 "reverend majesty in his looks,
 "yielding favour and forcing
 "fear,—one most revered
 "of our nation, and worthily
 "reverenced of us, one or two
 "actions excepted, whereunto
 "he was drawn by father Par-
 "sons' exorbitant courses and
 "impudency; yea, even our
 "common adversaries [the pro-
 "testants] did commend his

"mild spirit in comparison of
 "Dr. Saunders, both writing
 "about one time, but with a
 "far different drift, intent, and
 "manner of proceeding. His
 "grace never liked of invad-
 "ing, conversions of countries
 "with bloody blades; and
 "howsoever he was drawn (as
 "wearied out with impostors,
 "exprobrations, and expostu-
 "lations of father Parsons and
 "others) to some odious at-
 "tempts against his dread so-
 "vereign and dear country,
 "both which he with no less
 "loyalty honoured than dearly
 "affected in his best thoughts,
 "yet afterwards he retired
 "himself from those seditious
 "courses, rightly condemning
 "and contemning all such fac-
 "tious dispositions in his very
 "heart." Quodl. p. 91. A Life
 of Cardinal Allen was written
 by Fitzherbert.]

A. D. 1594.
37 Eliz. wound betwixt them; for though I approve the opinions of neither, yet am I so much friend to the persons of both parties as not to make much to myself of their discords: the rather because no Christian can heartily laugh at the factions of his fiercest enemies, because that sight at the same time pincheth him with the sad remembrance that such divisions that have formerly, do at the present, or may hereafter, be found amongst those of his own profession; such is the frailty of human nature, in what side soever. However, hereafter let not papists without cause or measure vaunt of their unity, seeing their pretended ship of St. Peter is not so solidly compacted but that it may spring a leak; nor let them boast so confidently of their sufferings, and blame our severity unto them, as if enduring such hard usage in their imprisonment. Surely, like Joseph, *their feet were not hurt in the stocks, the iron did not enter into their soul^z*; neither, with Jeremy, were they *cast into a dirty dungeon, where they sunk in mire^a*: nor, with Peter, were they *bound with two chains^b*; nor, with Paul and Silas, were they *thrust into the inner prison, and made fast^c*; but had, in their durance, liberty, list, and leisure to begin, foment, and prosecute this violent schism betwixt themselves.

The beginning of the schism betwixt the seculars and the Jesuits.

14. Until this time the prime catholics in Wisbich Castle had lived there in restraint, with great unity and concord^d; and the papists do brag that

^z Psalm cv 18.

^a Jer xxxviii. 6.

^b Acts xii. 6

^c Acts xvi. 24.

^d ["Wishycense castrum in-

"ter paludes loco insaluber-

"rimo situm ad includendos

"sacerdotes catholicos destina-

"tum, episcopo, abbate, mul-

"tisque insignissimis nobilita-

then and there the English church was most visible, A. D. 1594.
 until one father Weston ^e, *alias* Edmonds, a Jesuit, ^{37 Elix.}
 coming thither, erected a government amongst them,
 making certain sanctions and orders, which all were
 bound to observe ^f; secretly procuring subjects to
 himself, and claiming a superiority over all the
 catholics there; yet so cunningly he contrived the
 matter, that he seemed not ambitiously to affect,
 but religiously to accept, this authority proffered
 unto, yea, seemingly forced upon him; for one of
 his friends writes to father Henry Garnett, provin-
 cial, then living in England, to this effect :

“ Good father Weston, in the humility of his
 “ heart, lies on his bed, like the man sick of the
 “ palsy, in the gospel; nor will he walk confidently
 “ before others in the way of the righteous, except
 “ first he be let down through the tiles, and it be
 “ said unto him from the provincial, *Arise, take up*
 “ *thy bed, and walk* &c.”

Yet, if the seculars may be believed, he did not
 only arise, but run, before that word of command
 given him by Garnett, and put his jurisdiction in
 execution. Besides those of his own society, many
 of the secular priests submitted themselves unto
 him, seduced, say some ^h, by the seeming sanctity

“ tum fuit inclusis confessori-
 “ bus, quorum multitudo, pie-
 “ tas, eruditio, industria, con-
 “ cordia ita sæpe refocillarat ca-
 “ tholicos, ita pluries devicerat
 “ hæreticos ut ibidem ecclesia
 “ Anglicana maxime visibilis
 “ celebrisque haberetur.” De-
 claratio Motuum, p. 11.]

^e [Wood, II 275.]

^f [See Watson's Quodl. p. 2,
 sq. Wood's Ath. II. 275.]

^g [See Declaratio Motuum,
 &c. p. 13, of which these words
 are a literal translation.]

^h Declaratio Motuum, &c.
 ad Clem. VIII. exhibita, p. 12.
 [The following is the full title

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of the Jesuits, and having their judgments bribed to that side by unequal proportions of money received ; besides promising themselves that in case the land was invaded, by the activity of the Jesuits all power and preferment would be at their dispose, and so they should be sooner and higher advanced.

of this rare and curious book :
" *Declaratio Motuum ac tur-*
" *bationum quæ ex controver-*
" *siis inter Jesuitas iisque in*
" *omnibus faventem D. Georg.*
" *Blackwellum Archipresbyte-*
" *rum et Sacerdotes Semina-*
" *riorum in Anglia, ab obitu*
" *Cardinalis Alani piæ memo-*
" *riæ ad annum usque 1601.*
" *Ad S. D. N. Clementem oc-*
" *tavum exhibita ab ipsis Sa-*
" *cerdotibus qui schismatis*
" *aliorumque criminum sunt*
" *insimulati. Rhotomagi apud*
" *Jacobum Molæum, sub signo*
" *Phœnicis. 1601.*" 4to. Ac-
cording to Pitts, (p. 810,) this book was written by John Hurst, a secular priest ; but according to Wood, (Ath. II. 390,) by Christopher Bagshaw, the violent opponent of father Parsons, who published also another work of a similar argument, entitled " *A true Re-*
" *lation of the Faction begun*
" *at Wisbich by Father Ed-*
" *monds, alias Weston, a Je-*
" *suit, 1595, and continued*
" *since by Father Walley,*
" *alias Garnet, the Provincial*
" *of the Jesuits in England,*
" *and by Father Parsons in*
" *Rome, with their adherents,*
" *against us the secular Priests,*
" *their brethren and fellow-*
" *prisoners, that disliked of*
" *novelties, and thought it*

" *dishonourable to the ancient*
" *Ecclesiastical Discipline of*
" *the Catholic Church that*
" *secular Priests should be*
" *governed by Jesuits. Hen-*
" *ley imprinted 1601.*" 4to. Both of these tracts bear internal marks of having been composed by the same person ; both give a very full account of the dissensions between the seculars and the Jesuits ; a passage in English history hitherto rarely touched upon, but yet intimately connected with some most important events in this and the subsequent reign. Besides these persons already mentioned, William Watson, a secular priest, (executed in the subsequent reign for his concern in the plot of Grey, Cobham, and others,) took a part in this controversy, and wrote a somewhat voluminous work, important for the history of the English Roman Catholics, called, " *A Deca-*
" *chordon of Ten Quodlibetical*
" *Questions, &c,*" of which some further account will be found below. He was likewise the author of an anonymous pamphlet on the same subject, entitled " *A Dialogue*
" *betwixt a secular Priest and*
" *a lay Gentleman concerning*
" *some Points objected by the*
" *Jesuitical Faction against*

15. But the greatest number and learned sort of A. D. 1594. the secular priests stoutly resisted his superiority, 37 Eliz. affirming how formerly it had been offered to Thomas The seculars refuse to obey Weston, and why. Watson, bishop of Lincoln, (late prisoner amongst them,) and he refused it, as inconsistent with their present condition, affliction making them equals, and a prison putting a parity betwixt them. If any order might pretend to this priority, it was most proper for the Benedictines, extant in England above a thousand years ago; that the Jesuits were punies; and if all orders should sit down, as Jacob's children at the table of Joseph, *the eldest according to his age, and the youngest according to his youth*¹, the last and least place of honour was due unto them; that the secular priests had *borne the heat of the day* in preaching and persecution, some of them having endured above twenty years' imprisonment for conscience sake, (as Mr. Bluet for one^k;) before some of the Jesuits knew what durance meant; that Weston was not eminent for learning, religion, or any prime quality, save only the affecting that place which his betters had declined; that it was monstrous that he, being a Jesuit, and so a member of another society, should be made a head of their

“such secular Priests as have shewed their dislike of Mr. Blackwell and the Jesuits’ Proceedings. Printed at Rhemes, 1601.” 4to. Father Parsons defended the Jesuits; and a list of his writings upon this occasion is given by Wood in the *Life of Parsons*, Ath. I. 356. But the fullest account of the publications on both sides, will be found in Bell’s

Anatomy of Popish Tyranny, (4to, 1603,) in the “Caveat to the Reader;” in which copious extracts from most of the pamphlets will be found. See also a paper in *Strype’s Annals*, IV. 194, sq., and a further account of some of these books, *ib.* p. 318.]

¹ Gen. xxxiv. 33.

^k Watson’s *Quodlibets*, p. 4.

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Weston
employed
but as a
scout to
discover
the temper
of the secu-
lar priests.

body. The lay-catholics were much offended with the schism; some withheld, others threatening to withhold, their charity from both parties, conceiving it the ready means, when maintenance was detained from both sides, to starve them into agreement.

16. One might admire why father Weston should so earnestly desire so silly a dominion, having his power as well as his own person confined within the walls of Wisbich Castle, (a narrow diocese,) only to domineer over a few prisoners; the gaoler, yea, the very turnkey being his superior to control him, if offering to exceed that compass. But oh the sweetness of supremacy, though in never so small a circuit! It pleased his pride to be prior of a prison, but *agent* was the title wherewith he styled himself¹; indeed the English Jesuits, both abroad in England and beyond the seas, made use of Weston's forwardness to try the temper of the secular priests, and to make this bold Jesuit to back and break a skittish colt for further designs. If Weston were unhorsed, his fall would be little lamented, and he might thank his own boldness in adventuring, and the ill managing of his place; if he sat the beast, and it proved tame, then others would up and ride; and father Garnett, provincial of the Jesuits, intended in like manner to procure from the pope a superiority over all the secular priests in England. Wisbich prison would be enlarged all over the kingdom, and the precedent would reach far in the consequence thereof; which increased the secular opposition against this leading case of jurisdiction.

He will not
stand to the

17. About this time came to Wisbich an aged

¹ Declaratio Motuum, &c. p. 17

priest, who had given great testimony of the ability ^{A.D. 1594.} of his judgment and ardency of his affections to the ^{37 Eliz.} catholic cause, being the general collector of the ^{determina-} charitable contributions unto the prisoners ^{tion of a} ^{grave priest} ^{chosen} ^{umpire.} ^m; in which place he had been so diligent in gathering, secret in conveying, faithful in delivering, impartial in dispensing such sums committed unto him, that deservedly he had purchased reputation to himself; who, as he had been a benefactor to both parties, so now he was made an arbitrator betwixt them, with promise of both sides to rest satisfied with his decision. He condemneth the Jesuits guilty of a scandalous separation, and that Weston ought to desist from his superiority; but the Jesuits would not stand to his sentence, confessing their separation scandalous, but only *per accidens*, and therefore not to be left off. And whereas the aforesaid priest had determined that that separation could not be continued without sin, the Jesuits, in derision, demanded of him whether he meant a venial sin or a mortal; and so the whole business took no effect.

18. Some months after, two reverend priests, ^{At last is} often sent for by both sides, were by joint consent ^{forced, by} made judges in this cause, who resolved that Wes- ^{letters from} ton's agency should be abolished as the original of ^{his provin-} evil, and seminary of much discord ^{cial, to} ^{leave off} ^{his agency.} ⁿ; and because Weston refused to obey their order, these two priests posted up to London, where Garnet, the Jesuits' provincial, did lodge; and from him, with much ado, obtained peremptory letters to Weston, presently to leave off his pretended superiority: a

^m [Ib. p. 16.]ⁿ [Ib. p. 18.]

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message which went to the proud Jesuit's heart, who was formerly heard to say that "he had rather throw himself headlong from the castle-wall, than desist from his office °." But now there was no remedy, but he must obey, desiring only he might make a speech to his society, exhorting them to unity and concord; and in the midst of his oration, as if he would have surrendered his soul and place both together, he fell speechless into a swoon P, and hardly recovered again; so mortal a wound it is to a proud heart to part with authority. Thus ended Weston's agency, the short continuance whereof was the best commendation of his command.

The
schism,
notwith-
standing,
continues
and in-
creases

19. But this was but a palliate cure, to skin the sore over which festered within. The enmity still continued, seculars complaining that the Jesuits traduced them to lay catholics, as cold and remiss in the cause, only dull to follow beaten paths, not active to invent more compendious ways for the advance of religion. The Jesuits also boasted much of their own merit—how their order, though last starting, had with its speed overtook and overrun all before them. Indeed they are excellent at the art of self-praising, not directly, but by certain consequence; for though no man blazed his own praise, (for one to be a herald to commend himself, the same on the same is false blazon, as well against the rules of modesty as prudence,) yet every one did praise his partner, laying an obligation on him to do the like, who in justice must do as much, and in bounty often did more, gratefully repaying the commendations lent him with interest; and thus

mutually arching up one another, they filled the ears of all papists with loud relations of the transcendent industry, piety, learning of the men of their society, to the manifest derogation of all other orders. But more of these discords in the year following.

20. About this time throughout England began the more solemn and strict observation of the Lord's day¹, (hereafter, both in writing and preaching, commonly called the Sabbath,) occasioned by a book this year set forth by one Nicholas Bound, doctor of divinity, (and enlarged with additions anno 1606,) wherein these following opinions are maintained²:

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The strict
keeping of
the sabbath
first re-
vived.

¹ [Burnet, II. 59.]

² [The first edition of this book, which is exceedingly rare, (for reasons which will be seen afterwards,) was published at London in 1595, with the following title "The Doctrine of the Sabbath plainly laid forth, and soundly proved by testimonies both of holy Scripture, and also of old and new Ecclesiastical Writers; declaring, first, from what things God would have us straightly to rest upon the Lord's Day, and then by what means we ought publicly and privately to sanctify the same: together with the sundry Abuses of our time in both these kinds, and how they ought to be reformed. Divided into two books, by Nicholas Bownde, Doctor of Divinity." This edition was dedicated (from Norton in Suffolk) to Robert the unfortunate earl of Essex. In the second edition, which was published in 1606, the title was

altered; many material changes were introduced, and it was also considerably enlarged. The dedication to the earl of Essex, and the address to the "Godly and Christian reader," were suppressed; and the first book was now dedicated "To the Right Reverend Father in God, and Right Honourable Lord Doctor John Jegon, Lord Bishop of Norwich;" the second book "To Humphrey Tyndall, D. D., Dean of Ely, and Master of Queen's College in Cambridge."

In some things, perhaps, the writer may have carried his notions too far; but his book in general is written in a truly Christian spirit, and ought by no means to be considered as the fruit of puritan principles. For proof, these extracts may suffice. Speaking of his work, he says, "All this I most willingly subject unto the judicious and learned censures of the most reverend fathers and

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i. That the commandment of sanctifying every seventh day, as in the Mosaical Decalogue, is moral and perpetual^s.

ii. That whereas all other things in the Jewish church were taken away, (priesthood, sacrifices, and sacraments,) this sabbath was so changed that it still remaineth^t.

iii. That there is a great reason why we Christians should take ourselves as straitly bound to rest upon the Lord's day, as the Jews were upon their sabbath; for, seeing it is one of the moral commandments, it bindeth us as well as them, for they are all of equal authority^u.

iv. The rest upon this day must be a notable and singular rest, a most careful, exact, and pre-

"grave divines of the church
"in these united kingdoms
"under the name of Great
"Britain; and more particu-
"larly the former book unto
"your lordship's pen, whom
"now the Lord hath made
"overseer and judge of all the
"learning and manners of the
"ministers in Suffolk and
"Norfolk; and therefore who
"not only is able sufficiently
"to decide all controversies
"here handled, but also to
"whom, by a certain peculiar
"right, it belongeth to censure
"whatsoever is here uttered."
Elsewhere he observes, "If
"any thing shall seem new
"and strange, and therefore
"justly to be suspected, (as
"all novelties for the most
"part are,) I do desire that
"they may be measured not
"by the crooked rule of the

"common practice of the
"world, by which many old
"things will seem new, but
"altogether by the straight
"line of God's word, which
"only can give us the full
"measure of every thing;
"from whence, if the same
"thing shall be found to have
"authority and antiquity, I
"hope upon better advertise-
"ments they will be more
"reverenced and embraced."
See also Isaac Walton's re-
marks upon him in his *Life of*
Hooker, where he states that
Dr. Bound was desired by
archbishop Whitgift to accept
the mastership of the Temple.
p. 28.]

^s [Epist. Ded.]

^t Dr. Bound's book of the
Sabbath, p. 91.

^u *Ib.* p. 247.

cise rest, after another manner than men are accustomed ^{A D. 1595.} _{38 Eliz.} ^z.

v. Scholars on that day not to study the liberal arts, nor lawyers to consult the case nor peruse men's evidences ^y.

vi. Sergeants, apparitors, and sumners to be restrained from executing their offices ^z.

vii. Justices not to examine causes for the conservation of the peace ^a.

viii. That ringing of more bells than one that day is not to be justified ^b.

ix. No solemn feasts nor wedding dinners to be made on that day, with permission, notwithstanding, of the same to ^clords, knights, and gentlemen ^d of

^x P. 124. ^y P. 163.

^z P. 164. ^a P. 166.

^b P. 202. [After stating that for the congregation to meet at one time some notice must be given, and as the trumpets and horns of the priests and Levites were ordained under the law, so the ringing of bells is of use among us, he proceeds: "Therefore, though I do not see how the common jangling of bells that is used in too many places, and the disordered ringing at other times of the sabbath, and for other ends, should be a work of the sabbath, and how it can then be justified, for which the late ecclesiastical canons of our church have taken order, (Can. 88)—yet the ringing of one bell, according to the custom of the place at one time, and the same or some other at another time—that so all

" might be present at the service of God from the beginning to the ending, and, as it is rightly called, 'Common Prayer'—this end maketh the labour acceptable unto God." This latter passage particularly alludes to a custom introduced by the puritans at this time. Not content with writing and speaking against the Common Prayer Book, such of them as had livings were wont to hire a rude and ignorant substitute (the ruder the better) to read the prayers, themselves not attending till the time of the sermon. This practice soon spread among the people, and was attended with infinite injury to the cause of practical piety.]

^c P. 211.

^d [This arose from a mistake, as it appears to me, of the author's meaning "concerning the feasts of noblemen, or their ordinary diet upon this day,

A. D. 1595. quality; which some conceive not so fair dealing
 38 Ehz. with him ^e.

x. All honest recreations and pleasures, lawful on other days, (as shooting, fencing, bowling,) on this day to be forborne ^f.

xi. No man to speak or talk of pleasures, or any other worldly matter ^g.

It is almost incredible how taking this doctrine was, partly because of its own purity, and partly for the eminent piety of such persons as maintained it; so that the Lord's day, especially in corporations, began to be precisely kept, people becoming a law to themselves, forbearing such sports as yet by statute permitted—yea, many rejoicing at their own restraint herein. On this day the stoutest fencer laid down the buckler, the most skilful archer unbent his bow, counting all shooting besides the mark; May-games and Morish-dances grew out of request; and good reason that bells should be

“ which in comparison may be
 “ called feasts;” in speaking of
 which he alludes to the practice
 of noblemen of keeping an open
 table, and the provisions necessary
 for the large households maintained
 by the nobility of those times.
 This is evident from what further
 follows, for, after commending the
 custom of some of the foreign
 reformed churches of having
 two or more public assemblies
 in the forenoon, and as many in
 the afternoon, and advising the
 nobility of this kingdom to
 divide the duties of their ser-
 vants, that all may have an
 opportunity of attending the

churches, he thus proceeds:
 “ And this I can say by expe-
 “ rience of some who for their
 “ religion have borne credit in
 “ the church, and for their
 “ authority have carried some
 “ countenance in the common-
 “ wealth, that on the Lord's
 “ day they have had their tables
 “ both Christianly and wor-
 “ shipfully furnished, without
 “ any hindrance of the worship
 “ of God at all, notwithstand-
 “ ing the number of their daily
 “ retinue and ordinary family
 “ hath been great.” p. 212.]

^e Pp. 206—209.

^f P. 102.

^g Pp. 272—274.

silenced from jingling about men's legs, if their very ^{A D. 1595.} ringing in steeples were adjudged unlawful. Some ^{38 Eliz.} of them were ashamed of their former pleasures, like children which, grown bigger, blushing themselves out of their rattles and whistles; others forbear them for fear of their superiors; and many left them off out of a politic compliance, lest otherwise they should be accounted licentious.

21. Yet learned men were much divided in their judgments about these sabbatarian doctrines: some embraced them as ancient truths, consonant to scripture, long disused and neglected, now seasonably revived for the increase of piety; others conceived them grounded on a wrong bottom, but because they tended to the manifest advance of religion it was pity to oppose them, seeing none have just reason to complain, being deceived into their own good; but a third sort flatly fell out with these positions, as galling men's necks with a Jewish yoke, against the liberty of Christians; that Christ, as lord of the sabbath, had removed the rigour thereof, and allowed men lawful recreations; that this doctrine put an unequal lustre on the Sunday, on set purpose to eclipse all other holy days, to the derogation of the authority of the church; that this strict observance was set up out of faction, to be a character of difference, to brand all for libertines who did not entertain it.

22. However, for some years together in this controversy Dr. Bound alone carried the garland away, none offering openly to oppose, and not so much as a feather of a quill in print did wag against him; yea, as he in his second edition observeth, that many both in their preachings, writings, and

Thomas
Rogers
first pub-
licly oppos-
eth Dr.
Bound's
opinions.

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38 Eliz. disputations did concur with him in that argument ; and three several profitable treatises (one made by Mr. Greenham) were within few years successively written by three godly, learned ministers^h. But the first that gave a check to the full speed of this doctrine was Thomas Rogers, of Horninger in Suffolk, in his preface to the Book of Articles. And now, because our present age begins to dawn, and we come within the view of that truth whose footsteps heretofore we only followed at distance, I will interpose nothing of my own, but of an historian only turn a notary, for the behoof of the reader, faithfully transcribing such passages as we meet with in order of time :

“ Notwithstanding, what the brethren wanted in
 “ strength and learning, they had in wiliness; and
 “ though they lost much one way, in the general
 “ and main point of their discipline, yet recovered
 “ they not a little advantage another way, by an odd
 “ and new device of theirs in a special article of
 “ their classical instructionsⁱ; for while these [the
 “ reformers] worthies of our church were employing
 “ their engines and forces, partly in defending the
 “ present government ecclesiastical, partly in assault-
 “ ing the presbytery and new discipline, even at that
 “ very instant the brethren, (knowing themselves
 “ too weak either to overthrow our holds, and that
 “ which we hold, or to maintain their own,) they
 “ abandoned quite the bulwarks which they had
 “ raised, and gave out were impregnable, suffering
 “ us to beat them down without any or very small

^h Dr. Bound, in his Preface to the Reader, second edition.

ⁱ Rogers's Preface to the Articles, §. 20.

“resistance; and yet, not careless of their affairs, A.D. 1595.
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“left not the wars for all that, but from an odd
“corner and after a new fashion which we little
“thought of, (such was their cunning,) set upon us
“afresh again, by dispersing in printed books (which
“for ten years’ space before they had been in ham-
“mering among themselves to make them complete)
“their sabbath speculations and presbyterian (that
“is, more than either kingly or popely) directions
“for the observation of the Lord’s day.”

And in the next page he proceedeth, “^k It is a
“comfort unto my soul, and will be till my dying
“hour, that I have been the man and the means
“that the sabbatarian errors and impieties are
“brought into light and knowledge of the state;
“whereby, whatsoever else, sure I am this good
“hath ensued, namely, that the said books of the
“sabbath, comprehending the above-mentioned, and
“many moe such fearful and heretical assertions,
“hath been both called in and forbidden any more
“to be printed and made common. Your grace’s
“predecessor, archbishop Whitgift, by his letters and
“officers at synods and visitations, anno 1599, did
“the one; and sir John Popham, lord chief justice
“of England, at Bury St. Edmund’s in Suffolk, anno
“1600, did the other¹.”

But, though both minister and magistrate jointly
endeavoured to suppress Bound’s book, with the
doctrine therein contained, yet all their care did

^k Idem, §. 23.

¹ [The sabbatarian doctrine was carried to extremes, and abused by the puritans to serve their own purposes; but their absurdities ought not to be charged upon Dr. Bound’s book.]

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38 Eliz.

but for the present make the Sunday set in a cloud, to arise soon after in more brightness. As for the archbishop, his known opposition to the proceedings of the brethren rendered his actions more odious, as if out of envy he had caused such a pearl to be concealed. As for judge Popham, though some conceived it most proper for his place to punish felonious doctrines, (which robbed the queen's subjects of their lawful liberty,) and to behold them branded with a mark of infamy, yet others accounted him no competent judge in this controversy; and though he had a dead hand against offenders, yet these sabbatarian doctrines, though condemned by him, took the privilege to pardon themselves, and were published more generally than before. The price of the doctor's book began to be doubled, as commonly books are then most called on, when called in, and many who hear not of them when printed inquire after them when prohibited; and though the book's wings were clipped from flying abroad in print, it ran the faster from friend to friend in transcribed copies; and the Lord's day, in most places, was most strictly observed. The more liberty people were offered, the less they used it, refusing to take the freedom authority tendered them; for the vulgar sort have the actions of their superiors in constant jealousy, suspecting each gate of their opening to be a trap, every hole of their digging to be a mine, wherein some secret train is covertly conveyed, to the blowing up of the subject's liberty, which made them almost afraid of the recreations of the Lord's day allowed them; and seeing it is the greatest pleasure to the mind of man to do what he pleaseth, it was sport for them to refrain

from sports, whilst the forbearance was in them—A.D. 1595.
38 Eliz. selves voluntary, arbitrary, and elective—not imposed upon them. Yea, six years after, Bound's book came forth with enlargements, publicly sold; and scarce any comment, catechism, or controversy was set forth by the stricter divines, wherein this doctrine (the diamond in this ring) was not largely pressed and proved; so that, as one saith, "the sabbath itself had no rest;" for now all strange and unknown writers, without further examination, passed for friends and favourites of the presbyterian party, who could give the word, and had any thing in their treatise tending to the strict observation of the Lord's day. But more hereof (God willing) in the fifteenth year of king James.

23. Now also began some opinions about predestination, free-will, perseverance, &c., much to trouble both the schools and pulpit; whereupon archbishop Whitgift, out of his Christian care to propagate the truth and suppress the opposite errors, caused a solemn meeting of many grave and learned divines at Lambeth, where, besides the archbishop, Richard Bancroft^m, bishop of London, Richard Vaughan, bishop elect of Bangor, Humphrey Tindal, dean of Ely, Dr. Whittaker, queen's professor in Cambridge, and others, were assembled. These, after a serious debate and mature deliberation, resolved at last on the now following Articlesⁿ:

^m [Richard Fletcher, says Heylyn more correctly; for Bancroft was not made bishop of London till 1597. See some further remarks on this subject in Heylyn's *History of the Presbyterians*, p. 340. *Examen*

Historicum, p. 165. *History of the Quinquarticular Controversy*, in his collection of tracts; and in Keble's *Introduction to Hooker*.]

ⁿ [Assheton's *Life of Whitaker*, p. 43.]

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1. Deus ab æterno prædestinavit quosdam ad vitam: quosdam reprobavit ad mortem.

2. Causa movens aut efficiens prædestinationis ad vitam non est prævisio fidei, aut perseverantiæ, aut bonorum operum, aut ullius rei quæ insit in personis prædestinatis, sed sola voluntas beneplaciti Dei.

3. Prædestinatorum præfinitus et certus est numerus, qui nec augeri nec minui potest.

4. Qui non sunt prædestinati ad salutem, necessario propter peccata sua damnabuntur.

5. Vera, viva et justificans fides, et Spiritus Dei justificantis, non extinguitur, non excidit, non evanescit in electis °, aut finaliter, aut totaliter.

6. Homo vere fidelis, id est, fide justificante præditus, certus est plerophoria fidei de remissione peccatorum suorum, et salute sempiterna sua per Christum.

1. God from eternity hath predestinated certain men unto life; certain men he hath reprobated.

2. The moving or efficient cause of predestination unto life, is not the foresight of faith, or of perseverance, or of good works, or of any thing that is in the person predestinated, but only the good-will and pleasure of God.

3. There is predetermined a certain number of the predestinate, which can neither be augmented or diminished.

4. Those who are not predestinated to salvation shall be necessarily damned for their sins.

5. A true, living, and justifying faith, and the Spirit of God justifying, is not extinguished, falleth not away; it vanisheth not away in the elect, either finally or totally.

6. A man truly faithful, that is, such an one who is endued with a justifying faith, is certain, with the full assurance of faith, of the remission of his sins, and of his everlasting salvation by Christ.

° [Als. "in iis qui semel ejus participes fuerunt."]

7. Gratia salutaris p, non tribuitur, non communicatur, non conceditur universis hominibus, qua servari possint, si velint.

8. Nemo potest venire ad Christum, nisi datum ei fuerit, et nisi Pater eum traxerit, et omnes homines non trahuntur a Patre ut veniant ad Filium.

9. Non est positum in arbitrio aut potestate uniuscujusque hominis servari.

7. Saving grace is not given, is not granted, is not communicated to all men, by which they may be saved if they will.

8. No man can come unto Christ unless it shall be given unto him, and unless the Father shall draw him; and all men are not drawn by the Father, that they may come to the Son.

9. It is not in the will or power of every one to be saved.

p [Als. "*sufficiens ad salutem*."]]

q [A history of these Articles, with the judgment of bishop Overall and bishop Andrews thereon, was published from an early MS., (which, as I suspect, was written by bishop Cosins,) and inserted in an Appendix to an edition of the XXXIX. Articles by Dr. Ellis; reprinted by Ran. Ford in 1720. According to this paper, Dr. Baro was first startled by the paradoxes which Whittaker held; the former asserting that *justifying faith and grace might sometimes be lost*, which Whittaker denied; and with regard to the question of *the assurance of salvation in the regenerate*, Whittaker holding an *absolute certainty of belief*, Baro an assurance of hope only. The same writer also states that these Articles were first drawn up by Whittaker, in a more stringent form, but afterwards

modified at the conference; that they were passed, chiefly in the absence of their most strenuous opposers, and with the reluctant concurrence of the archbishop, who, vexed with the ceaseless disquiet of the church, was greatly desirous of putting an end to the strife which seemed to threaten it with a new convulsion.

When the queen heard of the matter, of which she was informed by Burleigh, the chancellor of the university, she immediately sent for the archbishop, and with much of her characteristic and laconic style addressed him in these words: "I hear, my lord archbishop," she said, "that you are collecting a treasure, and intend to make me rich." The archbishop, not understanding the jest, replied, "That indeed he was not very rich, and possessed no great property, but that such as he had was at

A.D. 1595.
38 Eliz.

A. D. 1595.
38 Eliz. Matthew Hutton, the right reverend archbishop of York, did also fully and freely in his judgment concur with these divines, as may appear by his letter, here inserted :

“Accepi jam pridem literas tuas (reverendissime
“præsul) veteris illius benevolentiae, et amoris erga
“me tui plenas, in quibus efflagitas opinionem meam
“de Articulis quibusdam nuper Cantabrigiae agitat-
“is, non sine aliqua piorum offensione, qui graviter,
“molesteque ferunt matrem academiam, jam multi-
“tudine liberorum et quidem doctissimorum floren-
“tem, ea dissensione filiorum nonnihil contristatam
“esse. Sed fieri non potest, quin veniant offendi-
“cula, neque desinet inimicus homo inter triticum
“zizania seminare, donec eum Dominus sub pedi-
“bus contriverit. Legi Articulos et relegi, et dum
“pararem aliquid de singulis dicere, visum est mihi
“multo potius de ipsa electione et reprobatione,
“(unde illa dissensio orta esse videtur,) meam sen-
“tentiam et opinionem paucis verbis explicare, quam
“singulis sigillatim respondens fratrum forsitan quo-
“rundam animas, (quos in veritate diligo,) exacer-
“bare. Meminisse potes (ornatissime antistes) cum

“her majesty’s service.” “Ah! my lord,” she replied, “you imagine that you are very obliging in making this offer; but what you profess to resign, as a matter of civility, I claim as a matter of right by the laws of the land. My lord archbishop, you have incurred the guilt of *præmunire*.” The archbishop, not a little startled, then began to explain to the queen that the framers of the Articles had no intention to give them any public authority; that they had been drawn up merely as articles of peace. But some courtiers standing by accused the archbishop with the fact of having sent them to Cambridge with an official character. In the end the archbishop, seeing how the matter was likely to end, resolved to suppress them; and this was accordingly done.]

“ Cantabrigiæ una essemus et sacras literas in scholis A.D. 1595.
38 Eliz.
 “ publicis interpretaremur, eandem regulam seculi
 “ eam semper fuisse inter nos consensionem in om-
 “ nibus religionis causis, et ne minima quidem vel
 “ dissentionis, vel simultatis suspicio unquam appa-
 “ reret. Igitur hoc tempore si iudicio dominationis
 “ tuæ, id quod pingui Minerva scripsi probatum ire
 “ intellexero, multo mihi minus displicebo. Deus
 “ te diutissime servet incolumem, ut tum Reginae
 “ serenissimæ et toti regno fidelissimus consiliarius,
 “ tum etiam ecclesiæ huic nostræ Anglicanæ pastor
 “ utilissimus multos adhuc annos esse possis. Vale,
 “ e musæo meo apud Bishop-Thorp. Calend. Octob.
 “ Anno Dom. 1595.”

24. But when these Articles came abroad into The high
opinions
some had
of these
Articles.
 the world, men's brains and tongues (as since their
 pens) were employed about the authority of the
 same, and the obedience due unto them; much
 puzzled to find the new place where rightly to rank
 them in reputation; how much above the results
 and resolutions of private divines, and how much
 beneath the authority of a provincial synod; some
 there that almost equalled their authenticity with
 the acts of a synod, requiring the like conformity of
 men's judgments unto them. They endeavoured to
 prove that those divines met not alone in their
 private capacities, but also representing others,
 alleging this passage in a public letter from Cam-
 bridge^r, subscribed with the hands of the heads of
 that university: “ We sent up to London by com-

^r See it cited at large in our History of Cambridge, anno
 1595

A. D. 1595. “mon consent, in November last, Dr. Tyndall and
 38 Eliz. “Dr. Whittaker, (men especially chosen for that
 “purpose,) for conference with my lord of Canter-
 “bury and other principal divines there,” &c.

Others
 value them
 at a lower
 rate.

25. Others maintain the contrary; for, grant each man in this conference at Lambeth one of a thousand for learning and religion, yet was he but one in power and place, and had no proxy or deputation (the two Cambridge doctors excepted) to appear in the behalf of others; and therefore their determinations, though of great use to direct, could be but of little authority to conclude and command the consent of others.

Some flatly
 condemned
 both the
 Articles
 and authors
 of them.

26. But a third sort, offended with the matter of the Articles, thought that the two archbishops and the rest at this meeting deserved censure for holding an unlawful conventicle; for they had not express command from the queen to meet, debate, and decide such controversies. Those of the opposite party were not solemnly summoned and heard; so that it might seem rather a design to crush them, than clear the truth. The meeting was warranted with no legal authority—rather a private action of doctor John Whitgift, doctor Matthew Hutton, &c., than the public act of the archbishops of Canterbury and York^s. One goeth further, to affirm that those Articles of Lambeth were afterwards forbidden by public authority; but when, where, and by whom, he is not pleased to impart unto us^t. And strange

^s Mr. Montague, in his Appeal, pp. 55, 71, 72.

^t [Perhaps Dr. Heylyn is here meant, who states that the queen was so exceedingly

offended at this innovation on her prerogative, that she threatened to have these divines attainted in a *præmunire*; but her anger was mitigated

it is that a public prohibition should be whispered so softly, that this author alone should hear it, and none other, to my knowledge, take notice thereof.

27. As for foreign divines, just as they were

A. D. 1595.
38 Eliz

How va-
liously

by the interference of some friends of the archbishop. Whitgift defended his conduct upon this ground. "that he and his associates had not made any canons, articles, or decrees, with an intent that they should serve hereafter for a standing rule to direct the church, but only had resolved on some propositions to be sent to Cambridge for quieting some unhappy differences in that university." With which answer her majesty, being somewhat pacified, commanded notwithstanding that he should speedily recall and suppress those articles; which was performed with such care and diligence, that a copy of them was not to be found for a long time after." Heylyn's Hist. of the Presbyterians, p. 341. This account of these Articles is supported by original documents. See note, p. 223. In his *Certamen Epistolare*, p. 178, Heylyn also further observes, that "the bishop, (Montague,) living in Cambridge at that time, might hear it amongst many others, though none but he were pleased to give notice of it when it came in question, and, secondly, the noise thereof did spread so far, that it was heard into the Low Countries; the making of these Articles, the queen's

"displeasure when she heard it, her strict command to have them speedily suppressed, and the actual suppression of them, being all laid down distinctly in a book published by the Remonstrants in Holland, entitled *Necessaria Responsio*, and printed at Leyden, 1618, almost seven years before the coming out of Montague's book." Montague seems to speak from personal knowledge, see his *Appeal*, &c., p. 71. The bishops, also, who were appointed in the commencement of the reign of Charles I. to examine Montague's book, and to report whether it contained doctrines of dangerous tendency, in their letter to the duke upon that occasion state, upon their certain knowledge, that the queen caused the Lambeth Articles to be suppressed; "and so they have continued ever since," they affirm, "till of late some of them have received countenance at the synod of Dort. And our hope is that the church of England will be well advised, and more than once over, before she admit a foreign synod, especially of such a church as condemneth her discipline and manner of government, to say no more." Cabala, p. 105. See also Playfere's *Appeal*, p. 10, ed. 1719.]

A. D. 1595.
38 Eliz.

foreign
divines
esteemed
of them.

biased in judgment, so on that side ran their affections, in raising or decrying the esteem of these Articles: some printed ^u, set forth, and cited them ^x, as the sense of the church of England; others as fast slighted them, as the narrow positions of a few private and partial persons. As for Corvinus, as we know not whence he had his intelligence, so we find no just ground for what he reporteth, that archbishop Whitgift for his pains incurred the queen's displeasure and a *præmunire* ^y. We presume this foreigner better acquainted with the imperial law and local customs of Holland, than with our municipal statutes and the nature of a *præmunire*. Indeed there goes a tradition, that the queen should in merriment say jestingly to the archbishop, "My lord, I now shall want no money, for I am informed all your goods are forfeited unto me by your calling a council without my consent." But how much of truth herein God knows. And be it referred to our learned in the law, whether, without danger of such a censure, the two archbishops, by virtue of their place, had not any implicit leave from the queen to assemble divines for the clearing, declaring, and asserting of difficult truths, provided they innovate or alter nothing in matters of religion ^z.

^u Thysius twice printed them at Hardrovick, anno 1613.

^x Bogerman in his 107 and 108 notes on the second part of Grotius.

^y In his answer to the notes of Bogerman, second part, pag. 566, and so forward to pag. 570.

^z ["As for the Lambeth

Articles, they were not only subscribed unto by Dr. Over-

all, but (as appears by a letter written from the bishop of Canterbury to Dr. Goad)

were shewn by the said bishop unto Dr. Baro, who, although he seemed to make some frivolous and childish objections against one or two

28. And now I perceive I must tread tenderly, A. D. 1595. 38 Eliz. because I go not, as before, on men's graves, but am ready to touch the quick of some yet alive. I These Articles excellent witnesses of the general doctrine of England. I know how dangerous it is to follow truth too near to the heels; yet better it is that the teeth of an historian be struck out of his head for writing the truth, than that they remain still and rot in his jaws, by feeding too much on the sweetmeats of flattery. All that I will say of the credit of these Articles is this: that as medals of gold and silver, though they will not pass in payment for current coin, because not stamped with the king's inscription, yet they will go with goldsmiths for as much as they are in weight; so, though these Articles want authentic reputation to pass for provincial acts, as lacking sufficient authority, yet will they be readily received of orthodox Christians for as far as their own purity bears conformity to God's word. And though those learned divines be not acknowledged as competent judges to pass definitive sentence in those points, yet they will be taken as witnesses beyond exception, whose testimony is an infallible evidence what was the general and received doctrine of England in that age about the forenamed controversies.

29. This year ended the life, first, of doctor Wil- Bishop W.ckham,

" of them only, yet he did confess that they were all true; " and added thereunto that " they did not impugn any of " his assertions. These are " the express words in the " archbishop's letter; and to " say the truth, if Dr. Baro " his sermon contained no " worse matter than is com-
 " prised in his assertions which " you enclose in your letter, " he might well avouch that " they were not contradictory " to the Lambeth Articles." March 6, 1628. Dr. Davenant to Dr. Ward (MS.) See Baro's own statements in his letter to Nic. Hemmings, in Epist. Remonstrant. p. 29, ed. 1684]

A.D. 1595.
38 Eliz

Dr. Whittaker, Daniel Halseworth, and Robert Southwell end then lives.

liam Wickham, bred in King's College in Cambridge, first bishop of Lincoln, after of Winchester, whose namesake, William Wickham, in the reign of king Edward the Third, sat in the same see more years than this did weeks. Indeed we know little of his life, but so much of his death as we must not mention it without some pity to him, whilst in pain, and praise to God for our own health; such was his torture with the stone before his death, that for fourteen days together he made not water^a. Secondly, worthy doctor William Whittaker, whose larger character we reserve (God willing) for our History of Cambridge^b. And amongst the Romanists Daniel Halseworth, who, as Pitzeus^c describes him, (papists give no scant measure in praising those of their own party,) was well skilled in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew—an elegant poet, eloquent orator, acute philosopher, expert mathematician, deep-studied lawyer, and excellent divine. Flying from England, he lived successively in Savoy, Rome, and Milan, having too many professions to gather wealth; and with all his arts and parts, both lived in poverty and died in obscurity. More eminent, but more infamous, was the death of Robert Southwell^d, a Jesuit, born in Suffolk^e, bred beyond the seas, where he wrote abundance of books; who, returning into England, was executed March the third for a traitor, at London, and honoured for a martyr amongst men of his own religion.

^a Godwin, De Præsul. Angl.

p. 240.

^b [See Hist. of Cambridge, p. 151.]

^c In Vita, p. 794. [He was a great friend of the excellent Borromeo, who made use of

him in governing his diocese.]

^d [See a very interesting account of his life and death in More's Hist. Soc. Jesu, p. 172; and in Tanner's Soc. Jesu, &c, p. 30.]

^e Idem ibidem.

30. The secular priests continued their complaints, as against Jesuits in general, so particularly against Robert Parsons ^f. This Parsons, about eighteen years since, was in England, where, by his statizing and dangerous activity, he had so incensed the queen's council, that the secular priests made him a main occasion why such sharp laws were so suddenly made against catholics in England ^g. But no sooner did danger begin to appear, but away went Parsons beyond the seas; wherein some condemned his cowardliness, and others commended his policy, seeing such a commander in chief as he was in the Romish cause ought to repose his person in safety, and might be nevertheless virtually present in the fight, by the issuing out of his orders to meaner officers. Nor did Parsons, like a wheeling cock, turn aside with intent to return, but ran quite out of the cockpit, and then crowed in triumph, when he was got on his own dunghill, safely resident in the city of Rome. Here he compiled and hence he dispatched many letters and libels into England, and, amongst the rest, that book of the succession to the English, (entitling the Spaniard thereunto,) setting it forth under the false name of Doleman ^h, an honest, harmless secular priest, and his professed adversary. And surely Parsons was a fit fellow to derive the pedigree of the kings of England, who might first have studied to deduce his own descent from a lawful father, being himself (otherwise called Cowbuck) "*filius populi et filius peccati*," as catholics

A. D 1596.
39 Eliz.

The complaint of the seculars against the Jesuits, and principally against Parsons.

^f [These dissensions of the Jesuits and secular priests commenced in 1597, and lasted till 1603]

^g Declaratio Motuum, &c., ad Clementem VIII. p. 24

^h Camden's Eliz. in anno 1594. [Wood's Ath. II. 71.]

A.D. 1596. have observedⁱ. Many letters also he sent over,
 39 Eliz full of threats, and assuring his party that the land
 would be invaded by foreigners; writing therein not
 what he knew or thought was, but what he desired
 and endeavoured should be true. Some of these
 letters, being intercepted, made the queen's officers
 (as they had just cause) more strict in searching, as
 her judges more severe in punishing the papists.
 Hereupon the seculars complained that such pro-
 ceedings against them (termed persecution by them,
 and justice by our state) was caused by the Jesuits;
 and that Parsons especially, though he had kindled
 the fire, left others to bear the heat thereof^k; yea,
 which was more, he was not himself contented to
 sleep in a whole skin at Rome, but lashed others of
 his own religion; and having got his neck out of
 the collar, accused others for not drawing weight
 enough, taxing the seculars as dull and remiss in

ⁱ Watson's *Quodlibets*, pp. 109 and 236.

^k [Thus Colleton, in his "Just Defence," &c. p. 170, addresses him: "We assure ourselves, father Parsons, that your restless spirit and pen, your enterprising and busy actions, have turned heretofore our catholic professants to infinite prejudice, for to no known cause can we impute so much the making of the severe laws of our country, as to your edging attempts and provocations." And in another place, after observing that the mischievous and restless spirit of this Jesuit had given just offence to the queen's government,

and brought the whole body of the Roman catholics into suspicion, he observes: "Neither is father Parsons holden only of our magistrate for a statish, or merchandiser of the crown and diadem, but his travels and negotiations this way are become so notoriously known, that even Pasquin in Rome (as intelligence is sent us) speaketh in this manner of him: 'IF THERE BE ANY MAN THAT WILL BUY THE KINGDOM OF ENGLAND, LET HIM REPAIR TO A MERCHANT IN A BLACK SQUARE CAP IN THE CITY, AND HE SHALL HAVE A VERY GOOD PENNY-WORTH THEREOF.'" Ib p 241]

the cause of religion; and, to speak plainly, they ^{A. D. 1596.} differed as hot and cold poison—the Jesuits more ^{39 Eliz.} active and pragmatical, the seculars more slow and heavy; but both maintaining treacherous principles, destructive to the commonwealth.

31. If we look now on the nonconformists, we ^{A general calm.} shall find them all still and quiet. After a storm, comes a calm: wearied with a former blustering, they began now to repose themselves in a sad silence, especially since the execution of Udal and Penry had so terrified them, that though they might have secret designs, we meet not their open and public motions; so that this century affordeth little more than the mortalities of some eminent men.

32. We begin with Richard Fletcher¹, bishop of London, bred in Bennet College in Cambridge, one of ^{The death of bishop Fletcher and bishop Coldwell.} a comely person and goodly presence, qualities not to be cast away in a bishop, though a bishop not to be chosen for them. He loved to ride the great horse, and had much skill in managing thereof; condemned for very proud (such his natural stately garb) by such as knew him not, and commended for humility by those acquainted with him. He lost the queen's favour because of his second unhappy match, and died suddenly, more of grief than any other disease. With him let me couple another heart-broken bishop, John Coldwell of Salisbury, doctor of physick, (St. Luke, we know, was both an evangelist and physician,) who never enjoyed himself after he had

¹ [He was uncle to the celebrated poets, Giles and Phineas Fletcher. See some account of him in Wood's Fasti I 107, and in sir J. Harrington's Nugæ, II. 41. According to bishop Goodman, he was promoted for his conduct at the execution of Mary queen of Scots.]

A. D. 1596 consented (though little better than surprised there-
 39 Eliz. unto^m) to the alienation of Sherborne manor from
 the bishopric.

The death
 of Laurence
 Humphrey 33. Here I am at a loss for the date of the death
 of Laurence Humphrey, but confident I hit the but,
 though miss the mark, as about this timeⁿ. He
 was a conscientious and moderate nonconformist,
 (condemned for lukewarm by such as were scalding
 hot,) dean of Winchester, and master of Magdalen
 College in Oxford, to which he bequeathed a con-
 siderable sum of gold, left in a chest, not to be
 opened except some great necessity urged there-
 unto^o. But lately, whilst Dr. John Wilkinson was
 president of the college, this gold was shared be-
 tween him and the fellows; and though one must
 charitably believe the matter not so bad as it is

^m [By the wily intrigues of
 a very dishonest man, sir Wal-
 ter Raleigh See an account
 of this affair in Harrington's
Nugæ Antiquæ, II. p. 124.]

ⁿ [Fuller has corrected this
 error at a later period of his
 history. Humphrey died in
 1590. See Wood's *Athen. I.*
 242.]

^o [Dr. Heylyn, who was once
 a member of this college, as-
 serts that Dr. Humphrey was
 not the author of this benefac-
 tion, which amounted to above
 twelve hundred double pisto-
 lets; "the old doctor (Wilkin-
 son) having no fewer than
 "one hundred for his share of
 "the spoils, and every fellow
 "thirty apiece for theirs :
 "each pistolet exchanged at
 "16s. 6d., and yet the ex-
 "changer got well by the bar-

"gain too" "The money, as
 "the tradition went in that
 "college, was left there by the
 "founder to remedy and re-
 "pair such ruins as either the
 "casualty of fire or the ravages
 "of a civil war might bring
 "upon it; to which the nature
 "of the coin, being all French
 "pieces, (remember that the
 "English at that time were
 "masters of a great part of
 "France,) gives a further tes-
 "timony." *The Appeal*, &c.,
 I. III p. 73. Dr. Wilkinson
 was one of the presidents put
 in by the visitors in the time
 of the Cromwellites; but Ful-
 ler says that he had heard and
 did partly believe that the doc-
 tor did strenuously oppose this
 seizure of the gold, though it
 was never returned See *The*
Appeal, *ib.* p. 74.]

reported, yet the most favourable relation thereof A. D 1596.
39 Eliz.
gave a general distaste ^P.

34. Sure I am a great antiquary, lately deceased, A great
antiquary's
good inten-
tion discour-
aged.
(rich as well in his state as learning,) at the hearing
hereof, quitted all his intentions of benefaction to
Oxford or any place else, on suspicion it would be
diverted to other uses ^q, on the same token that he
merrily said, "I think the best way for a man to
"perpetuate his memory is to procure the pope to
"canonize him for a saint, for then he shall be sure
"to be remembered in their calendar; whereas
"otherwise I see all protestant charity subject to the
"covetousness of posterity to devour it, and bury
"the donor thereof in oblivion."

35. Mr. Balthazar Zanches, a Spaniard, born in The charity
of a Spanish
protestant.
Sherez in Estremadura, founded an almshouse at
Tottenham-high-cross in Middlesex, for eight single
people, allowing them competent maintenance. Now,
seeing protestant founders are rare, Spanish protest-
ants rarer, Spanish protestant founders in England
rarest, I could not pass this over with silence; nor
must we forget that he was the first confectioner or
comfit-maker in England, bringing that mystery to
London; and, as I am informed, the exactness there-
of continues still in his family, in which respect they
have successively been the queen's and king's con-
fectioners ^r.

^P [It appears to have been a very scandalous business, although Hickman attempted a very blundering defence of it. See also Heylyn's reply to his statement, in his *Certamen Epistolare*, p. 133.]

^q [Selden refused to give

his books to the university upon this account, according to our author, in which statement he is supported by Heylyn. *Cert Epistolare*, p. 133.]

^r [Upon the parliamentary proceedings at this time, see D'Ewes' Journal, p. 538.]

A. D. 1597.
40 Eliz.

The acts in
the parlia-
ment.

36. A parliament held at Westminster, wherein the deprivation of popish bishops in the first of this queen's reign was declared legal. Some will wonder what need is of this statute at so many years distance, but the preface intimates the necessity thereof. The legality, also, of our bishops and their officers was again by act of parliament confirmed. And whereas there was a pretended concealment of some lands of the bishopric of Norwich, the same by act of parliament were settled on that see, and the exchange of lands ratified, made in the reign of king Henry the Eighth. The contemporary convocation did nothing of moment.

The death
of Thomas
Stapleton.

37. Thomas Stapleton this year ended his life, and was buried at St. Peter's church in Louvain^s. It is written in his epitaph, "*Qui Cicestriæ in Anglia* " *nobili loco natus*;" where *Cicestriæ* is taken not for the city, but diocese of Chichester, having otherwise good assurance that he was born at Hemfield in Sussex, the same year and month wherein sir Thomas More was beheaded^t, observed by the catholics as a grand providence. He was a most learned assertor of the Romish religion, wanting nothing but a true cause to defend. On one account I am beholding unto him, viz., for dissuading Pitzeus from being a soldier to be a scholar^u, whose history of our English writers hath so often been useful unto me.

The death
of Dr.
Cosin.

38. Richard Cosin^x, doctor of the law and dean of the Arches, this year ended his life—one of the

^s [See more of him in Wood's Athen. I. 291; and his life, by Henry Holland, prefixed to Stapleton's Works.]

^t Pitz. in Vita, p. 796.

^u Idem ibidem.

^x [See his Life, by Wm. Barton, B. D., printed in 1598.]

greatest civilians which our age or nation hath produced, a most moderate man in his own nature, but <sup>A D. 1598.
41 Eliz.</sup> most earnest assertor of the ecclesiastical discipline, as by his printed works doth appear.

39. Robert Turner his death was now much be-<sup>The death
of Robert
Turner.</sup> moaned by the papists ^y. He was born at Barnstaple in Devon, bred for a while in Oxford; whence, flying beyond the seas, he became canon of Breslau in Silesia, and at the same time privy counsellor to the duke of Bavaria, falling afterward into his displeasure, probably because more pragmatICAL than became a foreigner; however, Ferdinand of Gratz (afterwards emperor) took him from the duke to be his own secretary for the Latin tongue, wherein he excelled, as by his printed orations doth appear. He lieth buried at Gratz, under a handsome monument ^z.

40. Great was the grief of protestants for the <sup>The death
of Richard
Hooker.</sup> decease of Richard Hooker ^a, Turner's countryman, as born also in Devonshire, and bred in Corpus Christi College in Oxford, living and dying a single man, of whom largely before. His innocency survived to triumph over those aspersions which the malice of others (advantaged by his own dove-like simplicity) had cast upon him. I am informed sir Edwin Sands hath erected a monument over him, in his parish church in Kent, where he lieth interred ^b.

^y [Pitz. in Vita, p. 798.]

^z [See an account of him in Wood's Athen I. 297. His opuscula have been published at various times, both at Ingolstadt and Cologne. He was a disciple of Campion, of whose death he has given some account in his works. Vol. II. p. 276, ed. 1625]

^a [There are some doubts about the date of his death. It seems certain, however, that he died in 1600. See Walton's Lives, p. 247, ed. Major, 1825. Keble's ed. p. 90.]

^b ["Here I must retract," says Fuller in his Worthies, "two passages in my Church History; for whereas I re-

A.D. 1599.
42 Eliz.

An over-
politic act
disliked.

41. I cannot omit what I find in this year, in Mr. Camden his manuscript *Life of Queen Elizabeth* ^c. A report was cast out by our politicians, in the midst of harvest, of the danger of a present foreign invasion—done out of design, to prevent the popularity of the earl of Essex, and to try the people's inclinations. Instantly all were put into a posture of defence: mowers, reapers, all harvest-folk, left their work to be employed in musters. This afterwards appeared but a court project, whereat the country took much distaste; so ill it is to jest with edged tools, especially with scythes and sickles. My author addeth, that people affirmed that such May-games had been fitter in the spring, (when sports were used amongst the Romans to Flora,) and not in the autumn, when people were seriously employed to fetch in the fruits of the earth; but, by his leave, these expressions flow from critics, and fly far above the capacities of countrymen.

The death
of John
Sanderson
and John
Case.

42. This century concluded the lives of two eminent Roman catholics: John Sanderson, born in Lancashire, bred in Trinity College in Cambridge, where he set forth an excellent logic, called San-

“ported Mr Hooker to die a bachelor, he had wife and children, though indeed such as were neither to his comfort when living, nor credit when dead. But parents cannot stamp their children from their heads or hearts.” This information Fuller professes to have received from Hooker's sister, lately living at Hogsden (Hoxton) near London; and the last statement corresponds with what Ben Jonson observes in *Drummond's Journal*, p 10,

that his “children are now beggars.”

“Secondly, his monument was not erected by sir Edwin Sandys, a person as probable as any man alive for such a performance, but by sir William Cooper, now living in the castle of Hertford; and let the good knight have the due commendation thereof.” III. 424]

^c Which shortly will be set forth in a new edition. [Since published at various times.]

derson's Logic, forty years ancients than that which A. D. 1600.
his worthy namesake of Oxford (of a different judg- 43 Eliz.
ment in religion) hath since printed on the same
subject^d. From Cambridge he fled to Cambray in
Artois, where he lived with good comfort, and died
with great credit with those of his own persuasion.
The other, John Case, of St. John's in Oxford, doctor
of physic, it seems always a Romanist in his heart,
but never expressing the same till his mortal sick-
ness seized upon him.

^d [Pitz in Vita, pp. 799 and 800.]

THE
CHURCH HISTORY
OF
BRITAIN.



THE TENTH BOOK,
CONTAINING THE REIGN OF KING JAMES.

TO
THE HONOURABLE
ROBERT LORD BRUCE*,

SOLE SON TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
THOMAS EARL OF ELGIN.



HAVING, by God's assistance, drawn down my History to the death of queen Elizabeth, some dissuade me from continuing it any further; because, that as St. Peter out of wariness (*alias* cowardliness) followed Christ, who was the truth, *afar off*^b, so they lay this down for a maxim, that the story of modern times must not be written by any alive; — a position, in my poor opinion, both disgraceful to historians and prejudicial to posterity.

Disgraceful to historians: as if they would make themselves like unto the beasts of the forest, as characterized by David, *who move in the darkness, till the sun ariseth, and they get them away*^c; loving

* [Afterwards earl of Ailesbury. He was one of the lords sent to the Hague to welcome

Charles II.]

^b Matt. xxvi. 58.

^c Psalm civ 20, 22.

to write of things done at distance, where obscurity may protect their mistakes from discovery, but putting up their pens as soon as the day dawns of modern times, and they within the reach of refutation.

Prejudicial to posterity: seeing intentions in this nature, long delayed, are at last defeated. ^c The young man, moved by his mother to marry, returned, that as yet it was too soon; and, some years after, pleaded that now it was too late. So some say, truth is not ripe enough to be written in the age we live in; which proveth rotten too much for the next generation faithfully to report, when the impresses of memorable matters are almost worn out; the histories then written having more of the author's hand than footsteps of truth therein.

Sure I am the most informative histories to posterity, and such as are most highly prized by the judicious, are such as were written by the eyewitnesses thereof,—as Thucydides, the reporter of the Peloponnesian war.

However, one may observe such as write the story of their own times, like the two messengers which carried tidings to David: of these, Ahimaaz (sent the rather by permission than injunction) only told David what he knew would please him, acquainting him with his victory. But being demanded of his son's death, he made a tale of a tumult ^d, (no better

^c Plutarch in his *Morals*.

^d 2 Sam. xviii 29.

than an officious lie for himself,) the issue whereof was to him unknown.

Cushi, the other messenger, had in his carriage less of cunning and more of conscience, informing the king of his son's death, but folding it up in a fair expression: *The enemies of my lord the king, and all that rise against thee to do thee hurt, be as that young man is* ^e.

Ahimaaz is imitated by such historians, who leave that unwritten which they suspect will be unwelcome. These, following the rule *summa lex salus authoris*, when they meet with any necessary but dangerous truth, pass it over with a blank, flourished up with some ingenious evasion.

Such writers succeed to plain Cushi in their relations, who give a true account of actions, and, to avoid all exasperating terms, (which may make a bad matter worse in relating it,) use the most lenitive language in expressing distasteful matter, adventuring with their own danger to procure the information of others. Truly one is concerned in conscience to transmit to the next age some short intimations of these times, out of fear that records are not so carefully kept in these so many and sudden changes, as they were in former ages.

I know Machiavel was wont to say, "that he who undertakes to write a history, must be of no

^e 2 Sam. xviii. 32.

“ religion.” If so, he himself was the best qualified of any in his age to be a good historian.

But I believe his meaning was much better than his words; intending therein, that a writer of histories must not discover his inclination in religion, to the prejudice of truth: Levi-like, who said to his father and mother, *I have not seen them*; owning no acquaintance of any relations.

This I have endeavoured to my utmost in this Book; knowing, as that oil is adjudged the best that hath no taste at all, so that historian is preferred who hath the least tang of partial reflections.

However, some candour of course is due to such historians (wherein the courtesy not so great in giving as the injury in detaining it) which run the chiding of these present times, in hope that after-ages may excuse them. And I am confident that these my labours shall find the same favour, (which may be in mere men, should be in all gentlemen, must be in true Christians,) the rather because this Book appeareth patronized by a dedication to your honour.

I have selected your lordship for a patron to this part of my History, wherein the reign of king James is contained, under whose peaceable government your grandfather was his privy counsellor, and master of the rolls, when your family was not brought, but *brought back* into England, where it

had flourished barons many years before. Plants are much meliorated by transplanting, especially when after many years they are restored to their native soil, as cordial unto them. And thus the continuance and increase of all happiness to yourself and noble consort, is the unfeigned prayer of

Your Honour's most obliged Servant,

THOMAS FULLER.

THE
CHURCH HISTORY
OF
BRITAIN.

BOOK X.



HE difference betwixt the seculars and A.D. 1601.
43 Eliz.
the Jesuits still continued and in-
creased. Wherefore bishop Bancroft, The secu-
lars foment-
ed by the
bishop of
London
against the
Jesuits.
counting the seculars the better but
weaker side, afforded them counte-

nance and maintenance in London House, accom-
modating them with necessaries to write against
their adversaries; hoping the protestants might
assault the Romish cause with the greater advan-
tage, when they found a breach made to their hand
by the others' own dissensions ^a. But such who bore
no good-will to the bishop, beholding the frequent
repairing and familiar conversing of such priests in

^a [To this report Watson alludes in one of his letters; and it seems to have been well grounded: "They (the Jesuits) " of Essenden, and the bishop
" reported," he says, " that I " of London, and I know not
" was set on by the lord Cecil " whom, to betray all catholics,
" pass of treason." Goodman's
Mem. II. 84.]

A. D. 1601. his house, made a contrary construction of his ac-
43 Eliz. tions, and reported him popishly affected. Thus those who publicly do things in themselves liable to offence, and privately reserve the reasons of their actions in their own bosoms, may sufficiently satisfy their consciences towards God, but will hardly avoid the censures of men, to which too unwarily they expose themselves. With more general applause was the bounty of archbishop Whitgift bestowed, who now finished his hospital, founded and endowed by him at Croydon in Surrey, for a warden and eight and twenty brethren; as also a free school, with liberal maintenance, for the education of youth. God (the best of creditors) no doubt long since hath plentifully repaid what was lent to him in his members.

Acts in the
last parlia-
ment of
queen Eli-
zabeth.

2. The last parliament in this queen's reign was now begun at Westminster, and dissolved the month next following. Of such things which at distance may seem to relate to church affairs, in this parliament, it was enacted, "That overseers of the poor should be nominated yearly, in Easter week, under the hand and seal of two justices of peace ^b; "and that these, with the churchwardens, should "take care for the relief of the poor, binding out of "apprentices, &c. As also, that the lord chancellor "should award commissions under the great seal, "into any part of the realm, as cause should require, "to the bishop of every diocese and his chancellor ^c, "and any four or more persons of honest beha-
 "viour, to inquire by oaths of twelve men into the

^b Statute 43 of queen Elizabeth, c. 2.

^c Ibid. cap. 4.

“misemployment of any lands or goods given to A.D. 1601.
 “pious uses; and by their orders to appoint them 43 Eliz.
 “to be duly and faithfully paid or employed to their
 “true uses and intents.” In pursuance of this
 statute, much good was and is done to this day, in
 several parts of the kingdom, the law being very
 tender, that the true intentions of the donor should
 take effect, as by this eminent instance may appear.
 By the rule of the law, copyhold land cannot be
 aliened but by surrender; but yet, if a man devise
 such land to a charitable use, though it had not
 been surrendered, this is adjudged good^d, and shall
 be construed an appointment to a charitable use
 within this statute.

3. Now, if we look into the convocation parallel Acts of this
year's con-
vocation.
 to this parliament, therein we shall find that it began
 with a Latin sermon of William Barlow, doctor of
 divinity, and one of her majesty's chaplains, (after-
 wards bishop of Rochester, then of Lincoln,) preach-
 ing on this text, Luke xix. 13,) *Negotiamini dum
 venio*. In this convocation, Matthew Sutcliffe, doc-
 tor of the law and dean of Exeter, was chosen pro-
 locutor, but nothing save matters of course passed
 therein. Nor find I any eminent divine deceased
 this year.

4. Francis Godwin, doctor of divinity, sub-dean Francis
Godwin
made bishop
of Llandaff.
 of Exeter, son of Thomas Godwin, bishop of Wells,
 (like another Gregory Nazianzen, a bishop, son to a
 bishop^e), was promoted to the church of Llandaff.
 He was born in the fourth year of queen Elizabeth,
 who was not a little sensible of and thankful for

^d 15 Jac. in Rivet's case in [prefixed to his Works. Paris,
 chancery. 1609. See bishop Taylor's Cases

^e In Vita Greg. Nazianzen, of Conscience, p. 677.]

A. D. 1601. God's favour unto her, in suffering her so long to hold the helm of the English church, till one born within her reign was found fit to be a bishop. He was stored with all polite learning, both judicious and industrious in the study of antiquity, to whom not only the church of Llandaff (whereof he well deserved) but all England is indebted, as for his other learned writings, so especially for his Catalogue of Bishops. He was translated, anno 1617, to Hereford, and died, many years after, a very old man, in the reign of king Charles ^f.

Watson's
Quodlibets
against the
Jesuits.

5. Now came forth a notable book against the Jesuits, written in a scholastic way, by one Watson, a secular priest, consisting of ten Quodlibets, each whereof is subdivided into as many Articles ^g. It

^f [His election was confirmed on the 14th of November, and his consecration performed on the 22nd, in the collegiate church of St. Peter's, Westminster. Strype's Whitgift, 553. His *congé d'élire*, bearing date Jan. 7, 1603, is printed in Rymer's *Fœd.* xvi. 488. He lived till the year 1633. See Godwin de *Præsul.* 696, 613, and a more diffusive account of him in Wood's *Ath.* I. 580, who states that queen Elizabeth advanced Godwin to the see of Llandaff on account of his "Catalogue of Bishops."]

^g ["A Decachordon of Ten Quodlibetical Questions concerning Religion and State; wherein the author, framing himself a quilibet to every quodlibet, decides an hundred cross interrogatory doubts about the general

"contentions betwixt the secondary priests and Jesuits "at this present." Newly imprinted, 1602. 4to. The title-page bears no name, though Watson acknowledges himself to be the author at p. 361. Unpromising as is the title of the book, it contains a fund of the most curious information respecting the personal history, secret intrigues, and proceedings of the Jesuits and Roman catholics during the later years of queen Elizabeth. Watson was likewise the author of several pamphlets of the same nature, to which he generally prefixed his initials, W. W. Being a very pragmatistical and busy character, he collected much secret anecdote and scandalous history, which he emptied unmercifully upon his implacable enemies the Jesuits.]

discovereth the Jesuits in their colours, ferreting them out of all their burrows of equivocation and mental reservation; holding Proteus so hard to it, that in despite of his changing into many shapes, he is forced to appear in his own proper form. No entire answer, for aught I can learn, was ever returned to this book; the Jesuits (according to their old trick) slighting what they cannot confute, and counting that unworthy to be done which they found themselves unable to do. Indeed, for matters of fact therein, they are so punctually reported, with the several circumstances of time and place, that the guilty consciences of such as are concerned therein, though snapping and snarling at pieces and passages thereof, for the main may well give it over for unanswerable.

6. Yet the whole book is written with an embittered style, so that protestant charity hath a better conceit of Jesuits than to account them altogether so bad. Take one passage of many: "No, no, their course of life doth shew what their study is; and that howsoever they boast of their perfections, holiness, meditations, and exercises, yet their platform is heathenish, tyrannical, satanical, and able to set Aretine, Lucian, Machiavel, yea, and Don Lucifer, in a sort to school, as impossible for him, by all the art he hath, to besot men as they do^h." This is the same Watson, who, though boasting of the obedience of the secular priests to their sovereigns, and taxing the Jesuits for want thereof, was notwithstanding himself afterwards executed for a traitor, in the reign of king James. It seems as

A. D. 1602.
44 Eliz.

The black
character of
Jesuits
painted
with the
pencil of a
secular
priest.

^h Second Quodlibet, third Article, p. 62.

A. D. 1602. well seculars as Jesuits are so loaden with loyalty,
 44 Eliz. that both need the gallows to ease them of the
 burden thereof.

A quiet in
 the English
 church, and
 the cause
 thereof.

7. Great at this time was the calm in the English church, the brethren not endeavouring any thing in opposition to the hierarchy. This some impute not to their quietness, but weariness, because so long they had in vain seeked to cast off that yoke from them; besides, they did not so much practise for the present, as project for the future, to procure hereafter an establishment of their ecclesiastical government. For they beheld the queen's old age as a taper of virgin wax now in the socket, ready to be extinguished; which made them address and apply themselves with all diligence to James king of Scotland, the heir apparent to the crown, as to the rising sun, whom they hoped will be more favourable to their proceedings;—hopes not altogether groundless, whilst they considered the power of the presbytery in the church of Scotland, where bishops, though lately restored to their place, were so restrained in their power, that small was their command in church affairs; which made the brethren in England thence to promise great matters to themselves, but with what success shall be seen hereafter. As for Mr. Thomas Cartwright, the chieftain of that party in England, we find him at this time growing rich in the town of Warwick, (there master of an hospital, by the benevolence and bounty of his followers,) where he preached very temperatelyⁱ, according to his promise made to the archbishop^k.

ⁱ Sir George Paul's Life of 554. The same author quotes Archbishop Whitgift, §. 79. a passage from sir H. Yelver-

^k [See Strype's Whitgift, ton's Epistle to the Reader,

8. Some ascribe this his mildness to his old age A.D. 1602. and experience, it being commonly observed that 44 Eliz. in controversies of this kind, men, when they consult Several reasons assigned of Mr Cartwright's moderation. with their own grey hairs, begin to abate of their violence. Others conceive that archbishop Whitgift had conquered him with his kindness, having formerly procured him both his pardon and dismissal out of all his troubles; so that his coals of courtesies, heaped on Mr. Cartwright's head, made the good metal (the ingenuity in him) to melt into moderation. For in his letters written with his own hand, March 24, anno 1601, he confesseth himself much obliged unto him, vouchsafing him the style of "*a right reverend father in God, and his lord the archbishop's grace of Canterbury;*" which title of *grace* he also often yieldeth him throughout his letters, acknowledging his "*bond of most humble duty so much the straiter, because his grace's favour proceeded from a frank disposition, without any desert of his own* ¹." Others (and that not improbably) do think that Mr. Cartwright grew sensible with sorrow how all sects and schisms, being opposite to bishops, (Brownists, Barrowists, &c.) did shroud and shelter themselves under his protection, whom he could neither reject with credit nor receive with comfort, seeing his conscience could not close

prefixed to bishop Morton's *Episcopacy Justified*, as a proof of the change in Cartwright's sentiments; "which he spoke to a sober person on his deathbed, and credibly reported to that gentleman from one in Warwick: that he seriously lamented the unnecessary troubles he had

"caused in the church by the schism he had been the great fomentor of; and wished he was to begin his life again, that he might testify to the world the dislike he had of his former ways. And in this opinion he died."]

¹ Sir George Paul, *ib.*

A. D. 1602. with their enormous opinions, and his counsel could
44 Eliz. not regulate their extravagant violences, which made him by degrees decline their party. Yet, for all this, there want not those who will maintain that all this while Mr. Cartwright was not more remiss, *but* more reserved in his judgment, being still as sound but not as sharp in the cause, out of politic intents, like a skilful pilot in a great tempest, yielding to the violence of a storm, therewith to be carried away, contrary to his intents for the present, but waiting when the wind should soon turn about to the north, and blow him and his a prosperous gale, according to their desires.

The character of Mr. Cartwright.

9. What his opinions were, may appear by the premises; and his life may be presumed most pious, it concerning him to be strict in his conversation, who so stickled for the reformation of all abuses in the church;—an excellent scholar, pure Latinist, (his travels advantaging the ready use thereof,) accurate Grecian, exact Hebraician, as his comments on the Proverbs and other works do sufficiently testify. But the masterpiece of all his writings was that his Confutation of the Rhemish Translation of the New Testament into English, at the importunity of many ministers of London and Suffolk; and sir Francis Walsingham, the queen's secretary, (Mr. Cartwright's especial patron,) gave him an hundred pounds to buy him books and encourage him in that work^m. However, the setting forth thereof was stopped by archbishop Whitgiftⁿ, probably, we may conceive,

^m [In 1583.] See the Preface of Mr. Cartwright's book.

ⁿ [In 1590. But not so stopped but that Cartwright

resumed his work shortly after. See the publisher's Preface to the Reader, from which the information in the text is derived.

because some passages therein did glance at and gird the episcopal discipline in England; and after it had lain thirty years neglected, it was first set forth anno 1618, and then without either privilege or licence^o, except any will say that truth is a licence for itself. In a word, no English champion in that age did with more valour or success charge and rout the Romish enemy in matters of doctrine. But when that adversary sometimes was not in the field, then his active spirit fell foul, in point of discipline, with those which otherwise were of his own religion.

10. The same year proved fatal to many other eminent clergymen; and I hope, without offence, I may join them together, their bodies at the same time meeting at the grave, though their minds before had parted in different opinions.

Bishop
Westphal-
ing, dean
Nowell, Mr.
Perkins,
Gregory
Sayer, and
William
Harris, de-
part this
world.

i. Herbert Westphaling, bishop of Hereford, (though perchance his ambiguous death is more properly referred to the last year^p.) brought up in Christ Church in Oxford, being the first bishop of that foundation; a man of great piety of life, and of such gravity that he was seldom or never seen to laugh^q; leaving

It must not, however, be forgotten that Cartwright published a small tract against part of the Rhemists' work, entitled, "The Answer to the Preface to the Rhemish Testament. By T. Cartwright, at Edinburgh. Printed by Robert Waldegrave, printer to the king's majesty. 1602. Cum privilegio regis."—12mo.]

^o [But neither is there pri-

vilege or licence to his Comment on Ecclesiastes, which he dedicated to James I.]

^p [He died March 1st, 1602. See Wood's Ath. I. 314. Godwin, who knew him well, has by a strange mistake referred his death to the year 1585, which indeed is the date of his translation to the see of Hereford. De Præsul. p. 495.]

^q Godwin de Præsulibus Angliæ, p. 495.

A. D. 1602. no great but a well-gotten estate, out of which he
44 Eliz. bequeathed twenty pounds per annum to Jesus College in Oxford.

ii. Alexander Nowell, doctor of divinity, and dean of St. Paul's in London, born in Lancashire, bred in Oxford, afterwards fled into Germany, in the reign of queen Mary. He was the first of English exiles that returned in the days of queen Elizabeth^r; and I have read how in a parliament he was chosen burgess of a town of Cornwall; but his election pronounced void, because he was a deacon;—a man of a most angelical life and deep learning; a great defender of justification by faith alone, and yet a great practiser of good works,—witness two hundred pounds a year rent for the maintenance of thirteen students, bestowed on Brasenose College, wherein he had his education^s; a great honourer of the marriage of the clergy, and yet who lived and died single himself; an aged man, of ninety years of age, yet fresh in his youthful learning; yea, like another Moses, his eyes were not dim, nor did he ever make use of spectacles^t to read the smallest print^u.

iii. William Perkins, who was born in the first and died in the last of queen Elizabeth; so that his life, (as we have elsewhere observed, to which we remit the reader^v), running parallel with this queen's reign, began, continued, and ended therewith.

iv. Gregory (before his entrance into religion, Robert) Sayer, bred in Cambridge; then, leaving

^r Donald Lupton in his Life, [Protest. Divines, p. 252, ed. 1637]

^s Camden's Eliz. in anno 1602.

^t Hugh Holland in his He-

roolog, p. 217, ed. 1620

^u [According to Camden, he died in February, 1603.]

^v In the Holy State, where see his life at large, p. 88.

the university, fled beyond sea, where he became a A. D. 1602.
Benedictine monk, of the congregation of St. Justin 44 Eliz.
in Padua. He lived in several parts of Europe, as
at Rheims, Rome, Montecasino, Venice, where he
died, and was buried the thirtieth of October^x, hav-
ing written many volumes in great esteem with men
of his profession.

v. William Harris, as obscure among protestants
as eminent with the popish party; a master of arts
of Lincoln College in Oxford, whence, leaving the
land, he fled beyond sea, living at Douay; and after-
wards he came over into England^y, where it seems
he had the hap to escape the queen's officers, and to
die in his bed. His book, called "The Theatre of
" the most true and ancient Church of England," is
highly accounted of Roman catholics.

11. About this time the low estate of the city of Relief sent
Geneva (the nursery of the reformed religion) was to the city
of Geneva
lively represented to the prelates, clergy, and well-
disposed persons of England, being for the present
in a very doleful condition. Long since it had been
undone, but because it had so many enemies to undo
it; so that, by God's providence, *out of the devourer*
came meat^z. Such neighbouring princes and states,
which were both willing and able to swallow up this
Zoar, did preserve it; for rather than Savoy should
suppress it, Venice, Florence, the popish cantons in
Switzerland, and France itself, would support it. But
for all this politic geometry, wherewith long it had
hung safe betwixt several competitors, it was lately
shrewdly shaken by the puissance of the duke of

^x Pitz. in Vita, p. 801 ^y Idem, p. 802. ^z Judges xiv. 14

A. D. 1602. 44 Eliz. Savoy, who, addicted to the Spanish faction, had banished all protestants out of his dominions. Archbishop Whitgift, whose hand was ever open to any pious design, led with his liberal example, and the rest cheerfully followed; so that large sums of money were seasonably made over for the relief of Geneva ^a.

The death
of queen
Elizabeth.

12. Queen Elizabeth, the mirror of her sex and age, (having above forty years, to the admiration of envy itself, managed this kingdom, finding when she began few friends that durst help, and leaving no foes that could hurt her,) exchanged her earthly for a heavenly crown; who, as she lived and died an unspotted virgin, so her maiden memory is likely, in this respect, to remain sole and single, seeing history affords no prince to be matched to her fame in all considerable particulars. Her corpse was solemnly interred under a fair tomb in Westminster, the lively draught whereof is pictured in most London and many country churches, every parish being proud of the shadow of her tomb; and no wonder, when each loyal subject erected a mournful monument for her in his heart. But, soon after, all English souls were employed equally to divide themselves betwixt exclamations of sorrow for her death and acclamations of joy for king James his succeeding her ^b.

King James
sends a
welcome
message to
the episco-
pal party.

13. And now it is strange with what assiduity and diligence the two potent parties, the defenders of episcopacy and presbytery, with equal hopes of success, made (besides private and particular addresses) public and visible applications to king James,—the

^a [26 Oct 1603.]

^b [See Goodman's Memoirs of James I for an account of

the queen's death by an eye-witness, vol. II. p. 55, and note.]

first to continue, the latter to restore, or rather set A. D. 1603
 up their government; so that, whilst each side was I James
 jealous his rival should get the start by early stirring,
 and rise first in the king's favour, such was their
 vigilancy, that neither may seem to go to bed; in-
 cessantly diligent, both before and since the queen's
 death, in dispatching posts and messages into Scot-
 land to advance their several designs^c. We take
 notice of two principal: Mr. Lewis Pickering, a
 Northamptonshire gentleman, and zealous for the
 presbyterian party, was the third person of quality,
 who, riding incredibly swift, (good news makes good
 horsemen,) brought king James the tidings of queen
 Elizabeth's death; but how far and with what an-
 swer he moved the king in that cause, is uncertain^d.
 Dr. Thomas Nevill, dean of Canterbury, came into
 Scotland some days after him, (except any will say
 that he comes first that comes really to effect what
 he was sent for,) being solemnly employed by arch-
 bishop Whitgift to his majesty, in the name of the
 bishops and clergy of England, to tender their
 bounden duties, and to understand his highness'
 pleasure for the ordering and guiding of ecclesias-

^c ["There is a foolish ru-
 mour up and down in the
 court, of sir H Bromley,
 lord Thomas Howard, lord
 Cobham, and the dean of
 Canterbury, Dr. Nevile, that
 each should go to move the
 king for what they like:
 Nevile for the protestant,
 lord Thomas Howard for the
 papist, Bromley for the pu-
 ritan, lord Cobham for the
 atheist" MS. Journal in
 Harl. MSS 5353

Among others, Watson, the
 seminary priest, was sent to
 obtain toleration for the Roman
 catholics, but apparently with-
 out effect; and this may be the
 reason why several pamphlets
 were put forth by that party to
 the prejudice of James's suc-
 cession. See Kennett's MSS.
 lxxxix. p. 11, and Watson's re-
 markable letter in the *Memoirs*
 of James I. Vol II. p. 59.]

^d [See Goodman, *ib* p 28,
 and note.]

A. D. 1603. tical causes ^e. He brought back a welcome answer
^{1 James.} to such as sent him of his highness' purpose, "which
 "was to uphold and maintain the government of
 "the late queen, as she left it settled."

Watson's
 silly trea-
 son.

14. Soon after followed the treason of William Watson, on this occasion. This Watson, secular priest, had written a bitter book against the Jesuits, as being one knowing, though not so secret, of their faults, as their own confessors; taxing them with truth so plain, they could not deny—so foul, they durst not confess it. Now such is the charity of Jesuits, that they never owe any man any ill-will, making present payment thereof. These holy fathers (as Watson intimated on the scaffold, at his death, and forgave them for the same ^f) "cunningly and "covertly drew him into this action," promoting him (who was ambitious, though pretending to much mortification) treasonably to practise his own per-
 ferment ^g.

^e Sir G. Paul's Life of Whitgift, §. 126.

^f Stow's Chron p 831.

^g [Casaubon, in his letter to Fronto Ducaus, says that Watson and Clarke constantly affirmed that they communicated their conspiracy to the Jesuits, and asked them to join it; but they refused, alleging that they were engaged in some other plot, meaning, as it was supposed, the Gunpowder Treason. p. 89. An impenetrable mystery hangs about this by-plot, as it was called. Watson, in his letter to the lords of the privy council, and particularly in his Quodlibets, displays the bitterest zeal and animosity against

the Jesuits, taxes them with being the authors of all the troubles brought upon the Roman catholics, by their turbulent and seditious conduct; and his letter asserts that this charge of treason was brought against him by their machinations, in order to get rid of him, whom they dreaded as a powerful enemy. Yet at his death he asks their pardon and their prayers. See note, ix. §. 15. It would seem, then, that two conspiracies were formed against king James, the one by the secular priests, the other by the Jesuits; and it is not improbable that the latter, still retaining a sense of their an-

15. Watson, with William Clarke, another of his A. D. 1603.
1 James. own profession, having fancied a notional treason, imparted it to George Brooke, one angry with His motley
complices. nature, not so much for making him lame, as a younger brother. These break it to (Brooke, his brother) the lord Cobham, to the lord Gray of Whaddon, and sir Walter Raleigh—the one a known protestant, the other a reputed puritan, the third an able statesman—besides some other knights, displeased with their present fortunes (how quickly is discontent inflamed into disloyalty!) because, since the turning of the wheel at the queen's death, on the wrong side of preferment. Watson devised an oath of secrecy for them all, which was no more than needful, considering their different interests—rather pieced than united, patched than pieced together.

16. Had one lost his religion, he might have Their wild
means
whereby to
attain a
mad end. found it (though I confess a treason is but a bad place to seek it in) in this conspiracy, wherein men of all persuasions were engaged. Their parts were as different as their opinions, some of them being conceived too wise to begin, and others too weak to finish so dangerous a design. The ends they propounded to themselves (as they were charged therewith) were, to kill the king, raise rebellion, alter religion—at least gain a toleration, and procure a foreign invasion, with many more things, which may be spoken easier in a minute than done in an age, especially their interest being not much at

cient grudge against the seculars, which originated during the latter part of the last reign, betrayed this conspiracy to the

government, but had sense and cunning (certainly not honesty) enough to keep their own necks out of the snare]

A. D. 1603. home, and nothing abroad. They ante-divided all
 — James offices of state betwixt themselves—lord marshal to one, treasurer to another, master of the horse to a third, secretary to a fourth, &c.; only sir Walter Raleigh (able to discharge any) had no particular office assigned unto him. Watson was to be lord chancellor, being very fit for the place, had he but as much skill to decide causes as write quodlibets. There wanted nothing to estate them in all these offices, but only their getting of them.

The two
 priests exe-
 cuted.

17. Wonder not that this treason was discovered so soon, but covered so long^h. The two priests alone, with George Brooke, were executed; who, to use the words of king James in his letter to sir Benjamin Tichbourne, sheriff of Hampshire, (for, the plague being in London, term was removed to Winchester, where they were tried,)“ vaire the principall plotteris “ and intisairs of all the rest, to the embracing of the “ saidis treasonabil machinationsⁱ.” The rest were

^h [According to Johnston, Francis Barnaby, a Romish priest, first discovered the plot to Bancroft, and he to Cecil, but Barnaby could mention no others than Watson and Clarke; which seems to confirm the assercion of bishop Goodman, that Raleigh was no otherwise concerned in the plot than as being aware of its existence, which he had intended to disclose, but was anticipated. See Johnston, Hist Br. p 372 Some ingenious remarks upon it will be found in Tytler's Life of Raleigh, p. 257, sq. and p. 444. Bishop Goodman, in his Memoirs, has furnished some very important information respect-

ing it I. p. 63, and the Letters, II. p. 86, sq. He conceives that sir George Brooke alone was culpable, who in a fit of discontent formed the plot, with a view to gain favour by discovering it.]

ⁱ [This letter is published at length in a tract entitled, “The Copy of a Letter written from Master T. M., near Salisbury, to Master H. A., at London, concerning the proceedings at Winchester; where the late lord Cobham, lord Gray, and sir Griffin Markham, all attainted of high treason, were ready to be executed, on Friday the 9th of December, 1603.”

pardoned their lives, not their lands]. We must not forget that the priests pleaded the silliest for themselves of all that were arraigned, alleging that their practice against the king could not be treason, because done against him before he was crowned ^k; Watson instancing in Saul, who was anointed in Ramah ^l, and afterward made king in Mizpeh ^m. Clarke insisted on Rehoboam, as being no king till the people had made him so ⁿ; not remembering (what our lawyers there minded them of) the difference betwixt successive kings, deriving their claim from their ancestors, and one newly elected; the English crown also being as incapable of an *interregnum* as nature of a vacuity. Meantime the Jesuits looked on, and laughed at Watson's execution, to see how bunglingly secular priests went about a treason, resolving in the next platform thereof (which now they were contriving) to rectify the errors Watson had committed; not to engage in a squint-eyed company, where two did not look the same way, but to select a competency of cordial catholics for the purpose.

18. No sooner was king James settled on the English throne, but Mr. Cartwright presented unto him his Latin Comment on Ecclesiastes ^o, thank-

A. D. 1603.
1 James.

Mr. Cartwright dedicates a book to king James.

This tract was printed in 1603, and reprinted in Morgan's *Phoenix Britannicus*, p. 51.]

J [Watson and Clarke were hanged upon 29th Nov., and both cut down alive. Brooke was beheaded on Monday, Dec. 5, in the castle-yard. See Carte's History, III. p. 722.]

^k [See the voluntary declaration of Ant. Copley, dated 14th July, 1603, in Lingard's Hist. Eng. VI. p. 641.]

^l 1 Sam. x. 1.

^m Ibid. ver. 24.

ⁿ 1 Kings xii. 1.

^o [Printed at London in 1604, in 4to.]

A. D. 1603. fully mentioning in his Dedication how he had,
 1 James — some twenty years before, been chosen to be professor in a Scotch university, though declining the acceptance thereof because of his pastoral charge, being then minister to the English congregation at Antwerp—thanks, perchance, not so proper to the person of king James, (though in loyalty and good manners justly tendered unto him,) as due rather to those who in his minority steered the affairs of Scotland. Nor let any wonder that an Englishman should be proffered preferment in Scotland, seeing it was but one for another, remembering that I have read in the life of Mr. Knox that he was offered an English bishopric, in the reign (as I take it) of king Edward the Sixth, and likewise refused the same.

Mr. Cartwright his death.

19. But Mr. Cartwright survived not long after, (otherwise, no doubt, we should have heard of him in Hampton Court conference, as the champion of his party,) who died at the age of sixty, on the twenty-seventh of December following. To what we have formerly largely writ of his character, we now only add that he was born in Hertfordshire, and married the sister of Mr. Stubbs ^P, whose hand was struck off for writing an (interpreted) libel against queen Elizabeth's marriage with Monsieur ^Q. This I dare boldly say, she was a most excellent wife, if she proved like her brother, whom Mr.

^P [The Discovery of a gaping Gulf whereinto England is like to be swallowed by another French Marriage, if the Lord forbid not the Banns, by

letting her Majesty see the Sin and Punishment thereof. Mense Augusti, 1579. 8vo.]

^Q Camden in his Eliz. 1581.

Camden (no great friend of puritans) cordially com-^{A. D. 1603.}
mendeth for a right honest man, generally beloved ^{1 James.}
whilst living, and lamented when dead. He was
afflicted towards his old age with many infirmities,
insomuch that he was forced continually to study
upon his knees ^r. My ears shall be deaf to the
uncharitable inference of those who impute this
extraordinary painful posture as a just punishment
upon him, in that he had so bitterly inveighed
against the gesture of those as superstitious who
reverently received the sacrament on their knees.
Mr. Dodd preached his funeral sermon.

20. And now, because there was a general expect-^{The pres-}
tation of a parliament, suddenly to succeed the ^{byterian}
presbyterian party, that they might not be surprised ^{petition to}
before they had their tackling about them, went ^{king and}
about to get hands of the ministers to a petition, ^{parliament.}
which they intended seasonably to present to the
king and parliament. Mr. Arthur Hildersham and
Mr. Stephen Egerton, with some others, were chosen,
and chiefly intrusted to manage this important bu-
siness. This was called "the millenary petition," as
one of a thousand ^s, though indeed there were but
seven hundred and fifty preachers' hands set there-
unto, but those all collected only out of five and
twenty counties. However, for the more rotundity
of the number and grace of the matter, it passeth
for a full thousand; which, no doubt, the collectors

^r See his Life, lately set forth by M. Clark, [in his Lives of Thirty-two English Divines, p. 367] set forth by Samuel Clark [at the end of his Gen. Martyrology, p. 377, ed. fol. 1651. See this petition exemplified be-

^s See Mr Hildersham's Life, low]

A. D. 1603
1 James.

of the names, if so pleased, might easily have completed. I dare not guess what made them desist before their number was finished: whether they thought that these were enough to do the deed, and moe were rather for ostentation than use; or, because disheartened by the intervening of the Hampton Court conference, they thought that these were even too many to petition for a denial. It is left as yet uncertain whether this conference was by the king's favour graciously tendered, or by the mediation of the lords of his council powerfully procured, or by the bishops (as confident of their cause) voluntarily proffered, or by the ministers' importunity effectually obtained. Each opinion pretends to probability, but the last most likely; and, by what means soever this conference was compassed, Hampton Court was the place, the fourteenth of January the time^t, and the following names the persons which were employed therein^u:

<i>For Conformity.</i>	<i>Moderator</i>	<i>Against Conformity.</i>
Archbishop of Canterbury, Whitgift.	KING JAMES.	Dr Reynolds Dr. Sparks.
Bishop of London, Bancroft.	<i>Spectators.</i>	Mr. Knewstubs
—— Durham, Matthew.	All the lords of the privy council, whereas some at times interposed a few words.	Mr [Laurence] Chaderton.
—— Winchester, Bilson.		
—— Worcester, Babington.		
—— St. David's, Rudd		
—— Chichester, Watson		
—— Carlisle, Robinson.		
—— Peterborough, Dove.		
Dean of The Chapel, [Dr. James Mountague.]	<i>Place.</i>	These, remaining in a room without, were not called in the first day.
—— Christ Church, [Dr Ravis.]	A withdrawing room within the privy chamber.	
—— Worcester, [Dr. Edes] s.		
—— Westminster, Andrewes.		
—— St. Paul's, Overall.		
—— Chester, Bailow.		
—— Salisbury, Bridges		
—— Windsor y.		
Dr Field, [Dean of Gloucester]		
Dr. King, [archdeacon of Nottingham.] ¹		

To omit all gratulatory preambles, (as necessary ^{A.D. 1603.} when spoken, as needless if now repeated,) we will ^{1 James.} present only the substance of this day's conference, his majesty thus beginning it:

" It is no novel device, but according to the
 " example of all Christian princes, for kings to take
 " the first course for the establishing of the church,
 " both in doctrine and policy². To this the very
 " heathen related in their proverb, *A Jove prin-*
 " *cipium*, particularly in this land. King Henry
 " the Eighth, towards the end of his reign, altered
 " much; king Edward the Sixth more; queen Mary
 " reversed all; and lastly, queen Elizabeth (of
 " famous memory^a) settled religion as now it
 " standeth.

" Herein I am happier than they, because they
 " were fain to alter all things they found established;
 " whereas I see yet no such cause to change, as con-
 " firm what I find well settled already. For blessed
 " be God's gracious goodness^b, who hath brought me

^t [It was at first appointed on the 12th of January, (Thursday,) but afterwards deferred by the king till the 14th. Barlow, &c., p. 2. Heylyn's Hist. of the Presbyterians, p. 368.]

^u [The account of this conference was published by Dr. Barlow, then dean of Chester, in 1604. It was reprinted in 1638, and again in a collection of tracts called "The Phoenix." 8vo.]

^v [See Wood's Papers, Vol. II. p. 39.]

^y Though all these deans

were summoned by letters, and present in the presence-chamber; yet only five (viz. of the Chapel, Westminster, Paul's, Chester, and Salisbury) on the first day were called in. [Barlow's Sum of the Conf. &c. p. 2.]

^z [Barlow, ib. p. 3.]

^a Note, his majesty never remembered her but with some honourable addition. [Barlow.]

^b ["At which words he put off his hat." Barlow, ib. p. 142.]

A.D. 1603 “ into the *promised land*, where religion is purely
1 James. “ professed, where I sit amongst grave, learned, and
“ reverend men ; not as before, *elsewhere*, a king
“ without state, without honour, without order,
“ where beardless boys would brave us to the
“ face.

“ And, I assure you, we have not called this
“ assembly for any innovation ; for we acknowledge
“ the government ecclesiastical, as now it is, to have
“ been approved by manifold blessings from God
“ himself, both for the increase of the gospel, and
“ with a most happy and glorious peace. Yet, be-
“ cause nothing can be so absolutely ordered but
“ that something may be added thereunto, and cor-
“ ruption in any state (as in the body of man) will
“ insensibly grow either through time or persons ;
“ and because we have received many complaints,
“ since our first entrance into this kingdom, of many
“ disorders and much disobedience to the laws, with
“ a great falling away to popery : our purpose there-
“ fore is, like a good physician, to examine and try
“ the complaints, and fully to remove the occasions
“ thereof, if scandalous—cure them, if dangerous—
“ and take knowledge of them, if but frivolous ;
“ thereby to cast a sop into Cerberus his mouth,
“ that he bark no more. For this cause we have
“ called you bishops and deans in, severally by your-
“ selves, not to be confronted by the contrary oppo-
“ nents, that if any thing should be found meet to
“ be redressed, it might be done without any visible
“ alteration.

“ Particularly there be some special points wherein
“ I desire to be satisfied, and which may be reduced

“ to three heads : 1. Concerning the Book of Com-
 “ mon Prayer, and divine service used in the church. A. D. 1603.
 1 James.

“ 2. Excommunication in ecclesiastical courts. 3.
 “ The providing of fit and able ministers for Ireland.
 “ In the Common Prayer Book I require satisfaction
 “ about three things :

i. “ First, about *confirmation* ; for the very name
 “ thereof, if arguing a *confirming of baptism*, as if
 “ this sacrament without it were of no validity, is
 “ plainly blasphemous. For though at the first use
 “ thereof in the church it was thought necessary
 “ that baptized infants, who formerly had answered
 “ by their *patrini*, should [be examined] when come
 “ to years of discretion, [and] after their profession
 “ made by themselves, be confirmed with the blessing
 “ of the bishop, I abhor the abuse [in popery,] where
 “ it is made a sacrament and a corroboration to
 “ baptism.

ii. “ As for *absolution*, I know not how it is used
 “ in your church, but have heard it likened to the
 “ pope’s pardons. There be, indeed, [only] two
 “ kinds thereof from God : one general, all prayers
 “ and preaching importing an absolution ; the other
 “ particular, to special parties having committed a
 “ scandal, and repenting. Otherwise, where excom-
 “ munication [or penance] precedes not, in my judg-
 “ ment there needs no absolution.

iii. “ *Private baptism* is the third thing wherein I
 “ would be satisfied in the Common Prayer : if called
 “ private from the place, I think it agreeable with
 “ the use of the primitive church ; but if termed
 “ private that any besides a lawful minister may
 “ baptize, I utterly dislike it.” And here his majesty

A. D. 1603. grew somewhat earnest in his expressions against
1 James. the baptizing by women and laics.

2. i. "In the second head, *excommunication*, I offer two things to be considered of: first, the matter; secondly, the persons. For the first, I would be satisfied whether it be executed, as it is complained of to me, in light causes, and that too commonly, which causeth the undervaluing thereof. For the persons, I would be resolved why chancellors and commissaries, being laymen, should do it, and not rather the bishops themselves, or some minister of gravity and account, deputed by them for the more dignity to so high and weighty a censure. As for providing ministers for Ireland, I shall refer it, in the last day's conference, to a consultation."

Archbishop of Canterbury.—"Confirmation hath been used in the catholic church ever since the apostles; and it is a very untrue suggestion, if any have informed your highness that the church of England holds baptism imperfect without it, as adding to the virtue and strength thereof^b."

Bishop of London.—"The authority of confirmation depends not only on antiquity^c, and the practice of the primitive church, but is an apostolical institution, named in express words, Heb. vi. 2; and so did Mr. Calvin expound the very place, earnestly wishing the restitution thereof in the reformed churches."

^b He addressed himself to the king on his knee. [Barlow, *ib* p 9.]

^c Citing Cyprian. Ep. lxxiii p.

132, ed. 1726; and Jerome *adversus Luciferian* [IV pp. 294, 295, ed. Paris, 1706.]

The *bishop of Carlisle* is said gravely and learn-^{A D. 1603.}
edly to have urged the same; and the *bishop of* ^{James.}
Durham noted something out of St. Matthew for
the imposition of hands on children.

The conclusion was this: for the fuller explanation that we make confirmation neither a sacrament nor a corroboration thereof, their lordships should consider whether it might not without alteration (whereof his majesty was still very wary) be entitled an examination with a confirmation.

Archbishop of Canterbury.—"As for the point of
"absolution, (wherein your majesty desires satisfac-
"tion,) it is clear from all abuse or superstition, as
"it is used in our church of England, as will appear
"on the reading both of the Confession and Abso-
"lution following it, in the beginning of the Com-
"munion Book."

Here the king perused both, and returned—

His Majesty.—"I like and approve them, finding
"it to be very true what you say."

Bishop of London.—"It becometh us to deal
"plainly with your majesty: there is also in the
"book a more particular and personal absolution in
"the Visitation of the Sick."

Here the dean of the Chapel turned unto it and
read it. <sup>These he
severally
cited.</sup>

Bishop of London.—"Not only the confessions of
"Augusta, Boheme, and Saxon, retain and allow it,
"but Mr. Calvin also doth approve both such a
"general and such a private (for so he terms it)
"confession and absolution."

His Majesty.—"I exceedingly well approve it,

A. D. 1603. “being an apostolical and godly ordinance, given in
1 James. “the name of Christ to one that desireth it, upon
 “the clearing of his conscience.”

The conclusion was this: that the bishops should consult whether unto the rubric of the general absolution, these words, “remission of sins,” might not be added for explanation sake.

Archbishop of Canterbury.—“To the point of
 “private baptism, the administration thereof by
 “women and lay persons is not allowed in the
 “practice of the church, but inquired of, and cen-
 “sured by bishops in their visitations ^d.”

His Majesty.—“The words of the book cannot
 “but intend a permission of women and private
 “persons to baptize.”

Bishop of Worcester.—“The doubtful words may
 “be pressed to that meaning; yet the compilers of
 “the book did not so intend them, as appeareth
 “by their contrary practice; but they propounded
 “them ambiguously, because otherwise, perhaps,
 “the book would not then have passed the par-
 “liament ^e.”

Bishop of London.—“Those reverend men in-
 “tended not by ambiguous terms to deceive any,
 “but thereby intended a permission of private per-
 “sons to baptize in case of necessity ^f. This is
 “agreeable to the practice of the ancient church,
 “(Acts ii.) when three thousand being baptized in
 “a day, (which for the apostles alone to do was at

^d [Barlow, ib. p 14]

^e To this he cited the tes-
 timony of the archbishop of
 York.

^f Here he produced the let-
 ters of some of those first com-
 pilers.

“ the least improbable,) some being neither priests A.D. 1603.
 “ nor bishops must be presumed employed therein; I James.
 “ and some fathers are of the same opinion.” Here
 he spake much and earnestly about the necessity of
 baptism.

His Majesty. — “ That in the Acts was an *act*
 “ *extraordinary*, and done before a church was set-
 “ tled and grounded; wherefore no sound reasoning
 “ thence to a church stablished and flourishing.
 “ I maintain the necessity of baptism, and always
 “ thought the place, John iii. 5, *Except one be born*
 “ *again of water*, &c., was meant thereof. It may
 “ seem strange to you, my lords, that I think you
 “ in England give too much to baptism; seeing
 “ fourteen months ago, in Scotland, I argued with
 “ my divines there for attributing too little unto it:
 “ insomuch that a pert minister asked me if I
 “ thought baptism so necessary, that, if omitted, the
 “ child should be damned? I answered, ‘ No; but
 “ if you, called to baptize a child, though privately,
 “ refuse to come, I think you shall be damned.’

“ But this necessity of baptism I so understand,
 “ that it is necessary to be had where it may be
 “ lawfully had, that is, ministered by lawful minis-
 “ ters, by whom alone, and no private person in any
 “ case, it may be administered; though I utterly dis-
 “ like all rebaptization, although either women or
 “ laics have baptized.”

Bishop of Winchester. — “ To deny private persons
 “ to baptize in case of necessity, were to cross all
 “ antiquity, and the common practice of the church;
 “ it being a rule agreed on amongst divines, that the
 “ minister is not of the essence of the sacrament.”

His Majesty. — “ Though he be not of the essence

A. D. 1603. " of the sacrament, yet is he of the essence of the
1 James. " right and lawful ministry thereof, according to
 " Christ's commission to his disciples, *Go, preach*
 " *and baptize* ^g, &c."

The result was this: to consult whether in the rubric of private baptism, which leaves it indifferently to all, these words, "curate or lawful minister," may not be inserted.

For the point of *excommunication*, his majesty propounded, whether in causes of lesser moment the name might not be altered, and the same censure retained. Secondly, whether in place thereof another coercion, equivalent thereunto, might not be invented ^h. Which all sides easily yielded unto, as long and often desired ⁱ. And so was

The end of the first Day's Conference.

On Monday, January the 16th, they all met in the same place, with all the deans and doctors above mentioned; Patrick Galloway, minister of Perth in Scotland, admitted also to be there; and hopeful prince Henry sat on a stool by his father ^k.

The king made a pithy speech to the same purpose which he made the first day, differing only in the conclusion thereof; being an address to the four opposers of conformity there present, whom he understood "to be the most grave, learned, and "modest of the aggrieved sort;" professing himself

^g Matt. xxviii. 20.

^h [Barlow, *ib.* p. 19.]

ⁱ ["A thing very easily
 " yielded unto of all sides, be-
 " cause it had been long and
 " often desired, but could not
 " be obtained from her ma-

esty, (the late queen,) who

" resolved to be still *semper*

" *eadem*, and to alter nothing

" which she had once settled."

Barlow, p. 19.]

^k [Barlow, *ib.* p. 21.]

ready to hear at large what they could object, and A. D. 1603.
1 James.
willed them to begin ¹.

Dr. Reynolds.—"All things disliked or questioned
" may be reduced to these four heads:

i. "That the doctrine of the church might be
" preserved in purity, according to God's word."

ii. "That good pastors might be planted in all
" churches, to preach the same."

iii. "That the church-government might be sin-
" cerely ministered, according to God's word."

iv. "That the Book of Common Prayer might
" be fitted to more increase of piety.

"For the first, may your majesty be pleased that
"the Book of Articles of Religion, concluded on
"1562, may be explained where obscure, enlarged
"where defective: viz., whereas it is said, (Article
"the 16th,) 'After we have received the Holy
"Ghost, we may depart from grace,' those words
"may be explained with this or the like addition:
" 'yet neither totally nor finally.' To which end it
"would do very well if the nine orthodoxal asser-
"tions concluded on at Lambeth might be inserted
"into the Book of Articles.

"Secondly, whereas it is said in the 23rd Article,
" 'that it is not lawful for any in the congregation
"to preach before he be lawfully called,' these words
"ought to be altered, because implying one out of
"the congregation may preach, though not lawfully
"called.

"Thirdly, in the 25th Article there seemeth a
"contradiction, one passage therein confessing con-

¹ [When Dr. Reynolds be- other delegates, kneeled down.
gan to speak, he, with the Barlow, ib. p. 23.]

A. D. 1603. "firmation 'to be a depraved imitation of the apostles,' and another grounding it on their example."
1 James.

Bishop of London.—"May your majesty be pleased
 "that the ancient canon may be remembered, *Schismatici contra episcopos non sunt audiendi*; and
 "there is another decree of a very ancient council,
 " 'that no man should be admitted to speak against
 "that whereunto he hath formerly subscribed.'

"And as for you, doctor Reynolds, and your
 "sociates, how much are ye bound to his majesty's
 "clemency, permitting you, contrary to the statute
 "*primo Elizabethæ*, so freely to speak against the
 "liturgy and discipline established. Fain would I
 "know the end you aim at, and whether you be
 "not of Mr. Cartwright's mind, who affirmed, 'that
 "we ought in ceremonies rather to conform to the
 "Turks than to the papists.' I doubt you approve
 "his position, because here appearing before his
 "majesty in Turkey gowns^m, not in your scholastic
 "habits, according to the order of the universities."

His Majesty.—"My lord bishop, something in
 "your passion I may excuse, and something I must
 "mislikeⁿ. I may excuse you thus far, that I think
 "you have just cause to be moved, in respect that
 "they traduce the well-settled government, and also
 "proceed in so indirect a course, contrary to their
 "own pretence and the intent of this meeting. I
 "mislike your sudden interruption of Dr. Reynolds,
 "whom you should have suffered to have taken his
 "liberty; for there is no order, nor can be any

^m [Heylyn's Hist. of the in some haste, interrupting Dr. Presbyterians, p. 368.] Reynolds.]

ⁿ [The bishop had spoken

“ effectual issue of disputation, if each party be not ^{A. D. 1603.}
 “ suffered, without chopping, to speak at large. ^{1 James.}
 “ Wherefore, either let the doctor proceed, or frame
 “ your answer to his motions already made, although
 “ some of them are very needless.”

Bishop of London.—“ Upon the first motion concerning falling from grace, may your majesty be pleased to consider how many in these days neglect holiness of life, presuming on persisting in grace upon predestination,—‘ If I shall be saved, I shall be saved,’—a desperate doctrine, contrary to good divinity, wherein we should reason rather *ascendo* than *descendo*, from our obedience to God, and love to our neighbour, to our election and predestination. As for the doctrine of the church of England touching predestination, it is in the very next paragraph, viz., ‘ We must receive God’s promises in such wise as they be generally set forth to us in holy scripture; and in our doings that will of God is to be followed which we have expressly declared unto us in the word of God.’ ”

His Majesty.—“ I approve it very well, as consonant with the place of Paul, *Work out your salvation with fear and trembling*. Yet let it be considered of, whether any thing were meet to be added for clearing of the doctor’s doubt, by putting in the word ‘ often,’ or the like. Meantime I wish that the doctrine of predestination may be tenderly handled, lest on the one side God’s omnipotency be questioned by impeaching the doctrine of his eternal predestination; or on the other side a desperate presumption arreared, by inferring the necessary certainty of persisting in grace.”

Bishop of London.—“ The second objection of

A.D. 1603. "the doctor's is vain, it being the doctrine and
 1 James. "practice of the church of England that none but
 "a licensed minister may preach nor administer the
 "Lord's Supper."

His Majesty. — "As for *private baptism*, I have
 "already with the bishops taken order for the
 "same."

Then came they to the third point, of *confirmation*; and upon the perusal of the words of the Article, his majesty concluded the pretended contradiction a cavil °.

Bishop of London. — "*Confirmation* is not so much
 "founded on the place in the Acts of the Apostles,
 "but upon Heb. vi. 2, which was the opinion (besides
 "the judgment of the fathers) of Mr. Calvin^p and
 "Dr. Fulk^q; neither needeth there any farther
 "proof, seeing, as I suppose, he that objected this

° [The cavil was upon these words: "That when the Article states that these five, commonly called sacraments, that is to say, Confirmation, Penance, &c. are not to be accounted for sacraments of the gospel, being such as have grown partly of the corrupt following of the apostles," &c. — the Puritans would have wrested it to mean that Confirmation is a depraved imitation of the apostles. A miserable shift it must have been, which could drive men, professing a desire of unity and love, to descend to so pitiful and dishonest a quibble, such as this and some others below.]

^p On Heb. vi. 2. [The words of Calvin are these:

"Qui erant extranei, non ante perveniebant ad Baptismum, quam edita fidei confessione. In illis ergo catechesis baptismum præcedere solebat. At liberi fidelium, quoniam ab utero adoptati erant, et jure promissionis pertinebant ad corpus ecclesiæ infantes baptizabantur: transacta vero infantia, postquam instituti erant in fide se quoque ad catechesim offerebant, quæ in illis baptismo erat posterior; sed aliud symbolum tunc adhibebatur, nempe manuum impositio. Hic unus locus abunde testatur hujus cæremoniæ originem fluxisse ab apostolis."]

^q On Acts viii. 17, [in his notes on the Rhemish Testament.]

“ holds not confirmation unlawful; but he and his ^{A. D. 1603.}
 “ party are vexed that the use thereof is not in ^{1 James.}
 “ their own hands, for every pastor to confirm his
 “ own parish; for then it would be accounted an
 “ apostolical institution, if Dr. Reynolds were pleased
 “ but to speak his thoughts therein.”

Dr. Reynolds.—“ Indeed, seeing some diocese of
 “ a bishop hath therein six hundred parishes ¹, it is
 “ a thing very inconvenient to permit confirmation
 “ to the bishop alone; and I suppose it impossible
 “ that he can take due examination of them all
 “ which come to be confirmed.”

Bishop of London.—“ To the matter of fact I
 “ answer, that bishops in their visitations appoint
 “ either their chaplains or some other ministers to
 “ examine them which are to be confirmed, and
 “ lightly confirm none but by the testimony of the
 “ parsons and curates where the children are bred
 “ and brought up.

“ To the opinion I answer, that none of all the
 “ fathers ever admitted any to confirm but bishops
 “ alone. Yea, even St. Jerome himself (otherwise
 “ no friend to bishops) confesseth the execution
 “ thereof was restrained to bishops only ^s.”

Bishop of Winchester.—“ Dr. Reynolds, I would
 “ fain have you, with all your learning, shew wher-
 “ ever confirmation was used in ancient times by
 “ any other but bishops; these used it partly to

¹ Here the bishop of London thought himself touched, because about six hundred and nine in his diocese. [Barlow, ib. p. 33.]

^s “ Ecclesia salus in summi

“ Sacerdotis dignitate pendet,
 “ cui si non exors quædam et
 “ ab omnibus eminens detur
 “ potestas, tot in ecclesiis effi-
 “ cientur schismata quot sacer-
 “ dotes.” [Adv. Lucifer. p. 295.]

A. D. 1603. "examine children, and, after examination, by im-
 — 1 James. "position of hands (the Jewish ceremony of blessing) to bless and pray over them; and partly to
 "try whether they had been baptized in the right
 "form or no. For in former ages some baptized (as
 "they ought) in the name of the Father, Son, and
 "Holy Ghost; some (as the Arians) in the name
 "of the Father as the greater, and the Son as the
 "less; some in the name of the Father by the Son,
 "in the Holy Ghost; some not in the name of the
 "Trinity, but only in the death of Christ. Where-
 "upon catholic bishops were constrained to examine
 "them who were baptized *in remotis*, concerning
 "their baptism: if right, to confirm them; if amiss,
 "to instruct them."

His Majesty.—"I dissent from the judgment of
 "St. Jerome, in his assertion that bishops are not
 "of divine ordination."

Bishop of London.—"Unless I could prove my
 "ordination lawful out of the scriptures, I would
 "not be a bishop four hours longer."

His Majesty.—"I approve the calling and use of
 "bishops in the church, and it is my aphorism, 'No
 "bishop, no king;' nor intend I to take confirmation
 "from the bishops, which they have so long enjoyed:
 "seeing as great reason that none should confirm
 "as that none should preach without the bishop's
 "license. But let it be referred whether the word
 "*examination* ought not to be added to the rubric
 "in the title of *Confirmation* in the Communion
 "Book. And now, Dr. Reynolds, you may pro-
 "ceed."

Dr. Reynolds.—"I protest I meant not to gall
 "any man, (though I perceive some took personal

“ exceptions at my words,) and desire the imputation A. D. 1603.
 “ of schism may not be charged upon me ^{† James.} To pro-
 “ ceed on the 37th Article, wherein are these words,
 “ ‘The bishop of Rome hath no authority in this
 “ land.’ These are not sufficient, unless it were
 “ added, ‘nor ought to have any.’ ”

His Majesty—“ *Habemus jure, quod habemus* ; and
 “ therefore, inasmuch as it is said he hath not, it is
 “ plain enough that he ought not to have.”

Here passed some pleasant discourse betwixt the
 king and lords about puritans, till, returning to
 seriousness, there began the

Bishop of London.—“ May it please your majesty
 “ to remember the speech of the French ambassador,
 “ monsieur Rosny ^u, upon the view of our solemn
 “ service and ceremony, viz. ‘that if the reformed
 “ churches in France had kept the same order, there
 “ would have been thousands of protestants more
 “ than there are.’ ”

Dr. Reynolds.—“ It were well if this proposition
 “ might be added to the Book of Articles: ‘The
 “ intention of the minister is not of the essence of
 “ the sacrament;’ the rather, because some in Eng-
 “ land have preached it to be essential. And here
 “ again I could desire that the nine orthodoxal
 “ assertions concluded at Lambeth may be generally
 “ received.”

[†] It seems the bishop of London, jealous that he was reflected on, (as is aforesaid,) called the doctor schismatic. [It seems no such thing, as the reader may see by referring to the conference, as published at length; for Dr. Reynolds evi-

dently alludes to the expression of the bishop of London above, p. 276: “*Schismatici contra episcopos non sunt audiendi.*”]

^u [De Rosny, the celebrated Sully.]

A. D. 1603.
1 James.

His Majesty.—"I utterly dislike the first part of your motion, thinking it unfit to thrust into the Book of Articles every position negative, which would swell the book into a volume as big as the Bible, and confound the reader. Thus one Mr. Craig in Scotland (with his 'I renounce and abhor,' his multiplied detestations and abrenunciations) so amazed simple people, that, not able to conceive all these things, they fell back to popery, or remained in their former ignorance. If bound to this form, the confession of my faith must be in my table-book, not in my head.

"But because you speak of intention, I will apply it thus: if you come hither with a good intention to be informed, the whole work will sort to the better effect; but if your intention be to go as you came, whatsoever shall be said, it will prove the intention is very material and essential to the end of this present action.

"As for the nine assertions you speak of, I cannot suddenly answer, not knowing what those positions of Lambeth be."

Bishop of London.—"May it please your majesty, this was the occasion of them: by reason of some controversies arising in Cambridge about certain points of divinity, my lord's grace assembled some divines of special note to set down their opinions, which they drew into nine Assertions, and so sent them to the university for the appeasing of those quarrels."

His Majesty.—"When such questions arise amongst scholars, the quietest proceedings were to

“ determine them in the university, and not to stuff A.D. 1603.
 “ the Book of Articles with all conclusions theo- 1 James.
 “ logical.

“ Secondly, the better course would be to punish
 “ the broachers of false doctrine, than to multiply
 “ Articles, which, if never so many, cannot prevent
 “ the contrary opinions of men till they be heard.”

Dean of Paul's.—“ May it please your majesty,
 “ I am nearly concerned in this matter, by reason
 “ of a controversy betwixt me and some other in
 “ Cambridge, upon a proposition which I there deli-
 “ vered ; namely, that whosoever (though before
 “ justified) did commit any grievous sin, as adultery,
 “ murder, &c., do become *ipso facto* subject to God's
 “ wrath, and guilty of damnation, *quoad præsentem*
 “ *statum*, until they repent. Yet, so that those who
 “ are justified according to the purpose of God's
 “ election, (though they might fall into grievous
 “ sin, and thereby into the present estate of dam-
 “ nation,) never totally nor finally fall from justifi-
 “ cation, but are in time renewed by God's spirit
 “ unto a lively faith and repentance. Against this
 “ doctrine some did oppose, teaching that persons
 “ once truly justified, though falling into grievous
 “ sins, remained still in the state of justification,
 “ before they actually repented of these sins ; yea,
 “ and though they never repented of them, through
 “ forgetfulness or sudden death, they nevertheless
 “ were justified and saved.”

His Majesty.—“ I dislike this doctrine, there being
 “ a necessity of conjoining repentance and holiness
 “ of life with true faith ; and that is hypocrisy, and
 “ not justifying faith, which is severed from them.
 “ For although predestination and election depend

A.D. 1603. "not on any qualities, actions, or works of man
 1 James, "which are mutable, but on God's eternal decree,
 "yet such is the necessity of repentance after known
 "sins committed, that without it no reconciliation
 "with God, or remission of sins."

Dr. Reynolds.—"The Catechism in the Common
 "Prayer Book is too brief, and that by Mr. Nowell
 "(late dean of Paul's) too long for novices to learn
 "by heart. I request, therefore, that one uniform
 "Catechism may be made, and none other generally
 "received y."

His Majesty.—"I think the doctor's request very
 "reasonable, yet so that the Catechism may be made
 "in the fewest and plainest affirmative terms that
 "may be,—not like the many ignorant Catechisms
 "in Scotland, set out by every one who was the
 "son of a good man; insomuch that what was
 "Catechism doctrine in one congregation, was
 "scarcely received as orthodox in another. And
 "herein I would have two rules observed: first,
 "that curious and deep questions be avoided in the
 "fundamental instruction of a people; secondly,
 "that there should not be so general a departure
 "from the papists, that every thing should be ac-
 "counted an error wherein we agree with them."

Dr. Reynolds.—"Great is the profanation of the
 "sabbath-day, and contempt of your majesty's pro-
 "clamation, which I earnestly desire may be re-
 "formed."

This motion found an unanimous consent.

Dr. Reynolds.—"May your majesty be pleased
 "that the Bible be new translated, such as are

“ extant not answering the original.” And he in-
 stanced in three particulars : A D. 1603.
 1 James.

<i>In the Original.</i>		<i>Ill Translated.</i>
Gal. iv 25.	ουστροιχει	Bordereth.
Psalm cv. 28.	They were not disobedient.	They were not obedient.
Psalm cvi. 30.	Phinehas executed judgment	Phinehas prayed.

Bishop of London.—“ If every man’s humour might be followed, there would be no end of “ translating.”

His Majesty.—“ I profess I could never yet see a “ Bible well translated in English ; but I think that “ of all, that of Geneva is the worst. I wish some “ special pains were taken for an uniform trans- “ lation ; which should be done by the best learned “ in both universities, then reviewed by the bishops, “ presented to the privy council, lastly ratified by “ royal authority to be read in the whole church, “ and no other.”

Bishop of London.—“ But it is fit that no mar- “ ginal notes should be added thereunto.”

His Majesty.—“ That caveat is well put in ; for “ in the Geneva translation some notes are partial, “ untrue, seditious, and savouring of traitorous con- “ ceits : as when, from Exodus i. 19, disobedience to “ kings is allowed in a marginal note ; and, 2 Chron. “ xv. 16, king Asa taxed in the note for only depos- “ ing his mother for idolatry, and not killing her. “ To conclude this point, let errors in matters of “ faith be amended, and indifferent things be inter- “ preted, and a gloss added unto them ; for, as Bar- “ tolus de Regno saith, ‘ Better a king with some “ weakness, than still a change ;’ so rather a church

A. D. 1603. "with some faults, than an innovation. And surely,
 1 James. "if these were the greatest matters that grieved
 "you, I need not have been troubled with such
 "importunate complaints."

Dr. Reynolds.—"May it please your majesty that
 "unlawful and seditious books be suppressed; such
 "as Ficlerus, a papist, *de jure magistratus in sub-*
 "*ditos* ², applied against the late queen for the
 "pope ²."

Bishop of London.—"There is no such licentious
 "divulging of those books; and none have liberty,
 "by authority, to buy them, except such as Dr.
 "Reynolds, who was supposed would confute them.
 "And if such books come into the realm by secret
 "conveyances, perfect notice cannot be had of their
 "importation. Besides, Ficlerus was a great dis-
 "ciplinarian; whereby it appears what advantage
 "that sort gave unto the papists, who, *mutatis per-*
 "*sonis*, apply their own arguments against princes
 "of their religion; though, for my part, I detest
 "both the author and applier alike."

The Lord Cecil.—"Indeed the unlimited liberty
 "of dispersing popish and seditious pamphlets in
 "Paul's Churchyard, and both the universities, hath
 "done much mischief; but especially one called
 "*Speculum Tragicum*."

His Majesty.—"That is a dangerous book indeed."

Lord H. Howard.—"Both for matter and inten-
 "tion."

Lord Chancellor.—"Of such books, some are

² [Johan. Baptista Ficklerus *de jure magistratum in subditos et officio subditorum erga magistratus*. Ingolst. 1578, 8vo. See Cat. Biblioth. Tigur. V. 261, ed. 1809. 12mo.]
^a [Barlow, *ib.* p. 48.]

“ Latin, some are English ; but the last dispersed A.D. 1603.
1 James.
“ do most harm.”

Secretary Cecil.—“ But my lord of London, and
“ no man else, hath done what he could to suppress
“ them.”

His Majesty.—“ Dr. Reynolds, you are a better
“ college-man than a statesman, if meaning to tax
“ the bishop of London for suffering those books
“ between the secular priests and Jesuits to be pub-
“ lished, which he did by warrant from the council,
“ to nourish a schism betwixt them.”

Lord Cecil.—“ Such books were tolerated, because
“ by them the title of Spain was confuted.”

Lord Treasurer.—“ And because therein it ap-
“ pears, by the testimony of the priests themselves,
“ that no papists are put to death for conscience
“ only, but for treason.”

Dr. Reynolds.—“ Indeed I meant not such books
“ as were printed in England, but only such as came
“ from beyond the seas^b. And now, to proceed to
“ the second general point, concerning the planting
“ of learned ministers, I desire they be in every
“ parish^c.”

His Majesty.—“ I have consulted with my bishops

^b [Barlow, *ib.* p. 51.]

^c [“ It is come to that pass
“ now,” said the bishop, “ that
“ some sort of men thought it
“ the only duty required of a
“ minister to spend the time
“ in speaking out of a pulpit,
“ sometimes (God wot) very
“ indiscreetly and unlearned-
“ ly ; and this with so great
“ injury and prejudice to the
“ celebration of divine service,
“ that some ministers would

“ be content to walk in the
“ churchyard till sermon-time,
“ rather than to be present at
“ public prayer.” This irre-
“ verential practice among the
“ nonconformists was carried to
“ great lengths, with a view to
“ bring the Common Prayer into
“ disrepute. It is frequently
“ mentioned in the writings of
“ the puritans of that time, as a
“ matter of commendation rather
“ than otherwise.]

A.D. 1603. "about it, whom I have found willing and ready
 1 James. "herein; but, as *subita evacuatio* is *periculosa*, so
 " *subita mutatio*: it cannot presently be performed,
 " the universities not affording them; and yet they
 " afford moe learned men than the realm doth
 " maintenance, which must be first provided. In
 " the mean time, ignorant ministers, if young, are
 " to be removed, if there be no hope of amendment;
 " if old, their death must be expected, because Jeru-
 " salem cannot be built up in a day."

Bishop of Winchester.—"Lay patrons most cause
 " the insufficiency of the clergy, presenting mean
 " clerks to their cures, the law admitting of such
 " sufficiency; and if the bishop refuseth them, pre-
 " sently a *Quare impedit* is sent out against him."

Bishop of London.—"Because this, I see, is a
 " time of moving petitions, may I humbly present
 " two or three to your majesty: first, that there
 " may be amongst us a praying ministry; it being
 " now come to pass, that men think it is the only
 " duty of ministers to spend their time in the pulpit.
 " I confess, in a church newly to be planted, preach-
 " ing is most necessary; not so in one long esta-
 " blished, that prayer should be neglected ^d."

His Majesty.—"I like your motion exceeding
 " well, and dislike the hypocrisy of our time, who
 " place all their religion in the ear; whilst prayer,
 " so requisite and acceptable if duly performed, is
 " accounted and used as the least part of religion."

Bishop of London.—"My second motion is, that
 " until learned men may be planted in every con-
 " gregation, godly homilies may be read therein."

^d This he spake kneeling.

His Majesty.—"I approve your motion, especially A. D. 1603.
1 James.
"where the living is not sufficient for the maintenance of a learned preacher. Also, where there be multitudes of sermons, there I would have homilies read divers times."

Here the king asked the assent of the plaintiffs, and they confessed it.

"A preaching ministry is best; but where it may not be had, godly prayers and exhortations do much good."

Lord Chancellor^e.—"Livings rather want learned men, than learned men livings; many in the universities pining for want of places. I wish, therefore, some may have single coats, [one living,] before others have doublets, [pluralities.] And this method I have observed in bestowing the king's benefices."

Bishop of London.—"I commend your honourable care that way; but a doublet is necessary in cold weather."

Lord Chancellor.—"I dislike not the liberty of our church in granting to one man two benefices, but speak out of mine own purpose and practice, grounded on the aforesaid reason."

Bishop of London.—"My last motion is, that pulpits may not be made pasquils, wherein every discontented fellow may traduce his superiors."

His Majesty.—"I accept what you offer, for the pulpit is no place of personal reproof. Let them complain to me, if injured."

Bishop of London.—"If your majesty shall leave yourself open to admit of all complaints, your

^e Egerton, lord Ellesmere.

A.D. 1603. ^{1 James.} "highness shall never be quiet, nor your under-officers regarded, whom every delinquent, when censured, will threaten to complain of."

His Majesty.—"I mean they shall complain to me by degrees: first to the ordinary, from him to the archbishop, from him to the lords of the council; and if in all these no remedy be found, then to myself."

Dr. Reynolds.—"I come now to subscription ^f, as a great impeachment to a learned ministry, and therefore entreat it may not be exacted as heretofore; for which many good men are kept out, though otherwise willing to subscribe to the statutes of the realm, articles of religion, and the king's supremacy. The reason of their backwardness to subscribe is, because the Common Prayer enjoineth the Apocrypha books to be read in the church, although some chapters therein contain manifest errors repugnant to scripture. For instance, (Ecclus. xlviii. 10,) Elias in person is said to come before Christ; contrary to what is in the New Testament ^g of Elias in resemblance, that is, John the Baptist."

Bishop of London.—"Most of the objections against those books are the old cavils of the Jews, renewed by St. Jerome, who first called them Apocrypha ^h; which opinion, upon Rufinus his challenge, he, after a sort, disclaimed."

^f [Barlow, ib. p 58.] This

concerned the fourth general head, viz. the Communion Book, as he first propounded it; however, here he took oc-

casion to urge it.

^g Matt. xi. 14; Luke i. 17.

^h [Præf. in lib. Regum et in Prov. Salom Hooker, E. P. v. 20, §. 8. Ford in Art. VI.]

Bishop of Winchester.—"Indeed St. Jerome saith, A. D. 1603
 " *Canonici sunt ad informandos mores, non ad con-* ^{1 James}
 " *firmandam fidem.*"

His Majesty.—"To take an even order¹ betwixt
 " both, I would not have all canonical books read in
 " the church, [unless there were one to interpret,]
 " nor any chapter out of the Apocrypha wherein any
 " error is contained; wherefore let Dr. Reynolds
 " note those chapters in the Apocrypha books
 " wherein those offences are, and bring them to the
 " archbishop of Canterbury against Wednesday next.
 " And now, doctor, proceed."

Dr. Reynolds.—"The next scruple against sub-
 " scription is, because it is twice set down in the
 " Common Prayer Book, 'Jesus said to his dis-
 " ciples;' when, by the text in the original, it is
 " plain that he spake to the Pharisees."

His Majesty.—"Let the word 'disciples' be omit-
 " ted, and the words 'Jesus said' be printed in a
 " different letter."

Mr. Knewstub.—"I take exceptions at the cross
 " in baptism, whereat the weak brethren are offended,
 " contrary to the counsel of the apostle, Rom. xiv.
 " 2 Cor. viii. 1"

His Majesty.—"Distingue tempora, et concordabunt
 " scripturæ. Great the difference betwixt those
 " times and ours: then, a church not fully settled;
 " now, ours long established. How long will such

¹ Viz in the dominical gos-
 pels.

² [Barlow, ib. p 65.] Here
 we omit Mr. Knewstub his
 exception against the interro-

gatories in baptism, because he
 spake so perplexedly that his
 meaning is not to be collected
 therein.

A. D. 1603. "brethren be weak? Are not *forty-five* years sufficient for them to grow strong in? Besides, who pretends this weakness? We require not subscriptions of laics and idiots, but of preachers and ministers, who are not still, I trow, to be fed with milk, being enabled to feed others. Some of them are strong enough, if not headstrong; conceiving themselves able enough to teach him who last spake for them, and all the bishops in the land."

1 James.

Mr. Knewstub.—"It is questionable whether the church hath power to institute an outward significant sign."

Bishop of London.—"The cross in baptism is not used otherwise than a ceremony."

Bishop of Winchester.—"Kneeling, lifting up of the hands, knocking of the breast, are significant ceremonies, and these may lawfully be used."

Dean of the Chapel.—"The Rabbins write that the Jews added both signs and words at the institution of the Passover; viz. when they ate sour herbs, they said, 'Take and eat these in remembrance,' &c.; when they drank wine, they said, 'Drink this in remembrance,' &c. Upon which addition and tradition, our Saviour instituted the sacrament of his last Supper; thereby approving a church may institute and retain a sign significant."

His Majesty.—"I am exceeding well satisfied in this point, but would be acquainted about the antiquity of the use of the cross."

Dr. Reynolds.—"It hath been used ever since the apostles' time; but the question is, how ancient the use thereof hath been in baptism."

Dean of Westminster.—"It appears out of Ter-^{A. D. 1603.}
tullian, Cyprian, and Origen, that it was used in ^{1 James.}
immortali lavacro^k."

Bishop of Winchester.—"In Constantine's time
it was used in baptism."

His Majesty.—"If so, I see no reason but that we
may continue it."

Mr. Knewstub.—"Put the case the church hath
power to add significant signs, it may not add
them where Christ hath already ordained them;
which is as derogatory to Christ's institution as if
one should add to the great seal of England."

His Majesty.—"The case is not alike, seeing the
sacrament is fully finished before any mention of
the cross is made therein."

Mr. Knewstub.—"If the church hath such a
power, the greatest scruple is, how far the ordi-
nance of the church bindeth, without impeaching
Christian liberty."

His Majesty.—"I will not argue that point with
you, but answer as kings in parliament, *Le roy*
s'avisera. This is like Mr. John Black, a beard-
less boy, who told me the last conference in Scot-
land^l that he would hold conformity with his
majesty in matters of doctrine, but every man
for ceremonies was to be left to his own liberty.
But I will have none of that; I will have one
doctrine, one discipline, one religion, in substance
and in ceremony. Never speak more to that
point, how far you are bound to obey."

Dr. Reynolds.—"Would that the cross (being
superstitiously abused in popery) were abandoned,

^k [Quoted at length in Hooker, E. P. v. 65, §. 8.]

^l December, 1602.

A.D. 1603. "as the brazen serpent was stamped to powder by
 1 James. "Hezekias, because abused to idolatry."

His Majesty.—"Inasmuch as the cross was abused
 "to superstition in time of popery, it doth plainly
 "imply that it was well used before. I detest their
 "courses who peremptorily disallow of all things
 "which have been abused in popery, and know not
 "how to answer the objections of the papists when
 "they charge us with novelties, but by telling them
 "we retain the primitive use of things, and only
 "forsake their novel corruptions. Secondly, no
 "resemblance betwixt the brazen serpent (a mate-
 "rial, visible thing) and the sign of the cross, made
 "in the air. Thirdly, papists, as I am informed,
 "did never ascribe any spiritual grace to the cross
 "in baptism. Lastly, material crosses, to which
 "people fell down in time of popery, (as the idola-
 "trous Jews to the brazen serpent,) are already
 "demolished, as you desire."

Mr. Knewstub.—"I take exception at the wearing
 "of the surplice, a kind of garment used by the
 "priests of Isis¹."

His Majesty.—"I did not think, till of late, it
 "had been borrowed from the heathen, because
 "commonly called *a rag of popery*. Seeing now
 "we border not upon heathens, neither are any of
 "them conversant with or commorant amongst us,
 "thereby to be confirmed in paganism,—I see no
 "reason but, for comeliness sake, it may be con-
 "tinued."

Dr. Reynolds.—"I take exception at these words
 "in the marriage, 'With my body I thee wor-
 "ship^m.'"

¹ [Barlow, ib. p. 74.]

^m [Barlow, ib. p. 73.]

His Majesty.—"I was made believe the phrase A.D. 1603.
1 James. "imported no less than divine adoration, but find it
"an usual English term, as when we say, 'A gen-
"tleman of worship;' and it agreeth with the scrip-
"tures, *giving honour to the wife*. As for you, Dr.
"Reynolds, many men speak of Robin Hood, who
"never shot in his bow. If you had a good wife
"yourself, you would think all worship and honour
"you could do her were well bestowed on her."

Dean of Sarum.—"Some take exception at the
"ring in marriage."

Dr. Reynolds.—"I approve it well enough."

His Majesty.—"I was married with a ring, and
"think others scarce well married without it."

Dr. Reynolds.—"Some take exceptions at the
"Churching of Women, by the name of purifica-
"tion."

His Majesty.—"I allow it very well: women,
"being loth of themselves to come to church, I
"like this or any other occasion to draw them
"thither."

Dr. Reynolds.—"My last exception is against
"committing ecclesiastical censures to lay-chancel-
"lors; the rather, because it was ordered, anno
"1571, that lay-chancellors, in matters of correc-
"tion, and, anno [1584 and] 1589, in matters of
"instance, should not excommunicate any, but be
"done only by them who had power of the keys;
"though the contrary is commonly practised °."

His Majesty.—"I have conferred with my bishops
"about this point, and such order shall be taken

° This the king spake smiling.

° [Barlow, *ib* p 77.]

A.D. 1603. "therein as is convenient. Mean time, go on to
1 James. "some other matter."

Dr. Reynolds.—"I desire that, according to certain provincial constitutions, the clergy may have meetings every three weeks ^p.

i. "First, in rural deaneries, therein to have prophesying, as archbishop Grindall and other bishops desired of her late majesty.

ii. "That such things as could not be resolved on there, might be referred to the archdeacon's visitations.

iii. "And so to the episcopal synod, [where the bishop with his presbytery] shall determine such points before not decided."

His Majesty.—"If you aim at a Scottish presbytery, it agreeth as well with monarchy as God and the devil. Then Jack, and Tom, and Will, and Dick, shall meet and censure me and my council. Therefore I reiterate my former speech, *Le roy s'avisera*. Stay, I pray, for one seven years, before you demand; and then, if you find me grow pursy and fat, I may perchance hearken unto you, for that government will keep me in breath, and give me work enough. I shall speak of one matter more, somewhat out of order, but it skilleth not. *Dr. Reynolds*, you have often spoken for my supremacy, and it is well; but know you any, here or elsewhere, who like of the present government ecclesiastical, and dislike my supremacy?"

Dr. Reynolds.—"I know none."

His Majesty.—"Why, then, I will tell you a tale.

“ After that the religion restored by king Edward A. D. 1603.
 “ the Sixth was soon overthrown by queen Mary 1 James.
 “ here in England, we in Scotland felt the effect
 “ of it; for thereupon Mr. Knox writes to the queen
 “ regent, a virtuous and moderate lady, telling her
 “ that she was the supreme head of the church;
 “ and charged her, as she would answer it at God’s
 “ tribunal, to take care of Christ his evangel, in
 “ suppressing the popish prelates, who withstood
 “ the same. But how long, trow you, did this con-
 “ tinue? Even till, by her authority, the popish
 “ bishops were repressed; and Knox, with his ad-
 “ herents, being brought in, made strong enough.
 “ Then began they to make small account of her
 “ supremacy; when, according to that more light
 “ wherewith they were illuminated, they made a
 “ farther reformation of religion. How they used
 “ the poor lady, my mother, is not unknown; and
 “ how they dealt with me in my minority. I thus
 “ apply it. My lords, the bishops, I may thank you
 “ that these men plead thus for my supremacy¹.
 “ They think they cannot make their party good
 “ against you, but by appealing unto it; but if once
 “ you were out, and they in, I know what would
 “ become of my supremacy; for *no bishop, no king*.
 “ I have learned of what cut they have been, who,
 “ preaching before me since my coming into Eng-
 “ land, passed over with silence my being supreme
 “ governor in causes ecclesiastical. Well, doctor,
 “ have you any thing else to say?”

Dr. Reynolds.—“ No more, if it please your ma-
 “ jesty.”

¹ This he said putting his hand to his hat.

A. D. 1603. *His Majesty*.—"If this be all your party hath to
 1 James. "say, I will make them conform themselves, or else
 "I will harry them out of the land, or else do
 "worse."

Thus ended the second day's Conference; and the third began on the Wednesday following, many knights, civilians, and doctors of the law being admitted thereunto, because the High Commission was the principal matter in debate.

His Majesty.—"I understand that the parties
 "named in the high commission are too many and
 "too mean, and the matters they deal with base,
 "such as ordinaries at home in their courts might
 "censure^r."

Archbishop of Canterbury.—"It is requisite their
 "number should be many; otherwise I should be
 "forced oftentimes to sit alone, if, in the absence
 "of the lords of the council, bishops and judges at
 "law, some deans and doctors, were not put into
 "that commission, whose attendance I might com-
 "mand with the more authority. I have often
 "complained of the meanness of matters handled
 "therein, but cannot remedy it; for though the
 "offence be small, that the ordinary may, the
 "offender oftentimes is so great and contumacious,
 "that the ordinary dare not punish him, and so is
 "forced to crave help at the high commission."

A nameless Lord^s.—"The proceedings in that
 "court are like the Spanish inquisition, wherein
 "men are urged to subscribe more than law re-
 "quireth, and by the oath *ex officio* forced to

^r [Barlow, *ib.* p. 85.]

^s I dare not guess him, for fear of failing.

“accuse themselves; being examined upon twenty
 “or twenty-four Articles on a sudden, without
 “deliberation, and for the most part against them-
 “selves.”

A. D. 1603.
 1 James.

In proof hereof he produced a letter of an ancient honourable counsellor, anno 1584, verifying this usage to two ministers in Cambridgeshire.

Archbishop of Canterbury.—“Your lordship is
 “deceived in the manner of proceeding; for, if the
 “Article touch the party for life, liberty, or scandal,
 “he may refuse to answer. I can say nothing to
 “the particulars of the letter, because twenty years
 “since, yet doubt not but at leisure to give your
 “lordship satisfaction.”

Lord Chancellor.—“There is necessity and use of
 “the oath *ex officio*, in divers courts and causes^t.”

His Majesty.—“Indeed civil proceedings only
 “punish facts; but it is requisite that fame and
 “scandals be looked unto in courts ecclesiastical,
 “and yet great moderation is to be used therein.

i. “In *gravioribus criminibus*.

ii. “In such whereof there is a public fame,
 “caused by the inordinate demeanour of the of-
 “fender.”

And here he soundly described the oath *ex officio*, for the ground thereof, the wisdom of the law therein, the manner of proceeding thereby, and profitable effect from the same.

Archbishop of Canterbury.—“Undoubtedly your
 “majesty speaks by the special assistance of God’s
 “Spirit.”

^t [Barlow, ib. p. 92.] Here we omit a discourse about subscription, because not method- ized into the speech of several persons.

A. D. 1603. *Bishop of London*.—"I protest my heart melteth
1 James. "with joy, that Almighty God, of his singular mercy,
"hath given us such a king, as, since Christ's time,
"the like hath not been ^u."

Then passed there much discourse between the king, the bishops, and the lords, about the quality of the persons, and causes in the high commission; rectifying excommunications in matters of less moment; punishing recusants; providing divines for Ireland, Wales, and the northern borders. Afterwards the four preachers were called in, and such alterations in the liturgy were read unto them which the bishops, by the king's advice, had made; and to which, by their silence, they seemed to consent.

His Majesty.—"I see the exceptions against the
"Communion Book are matters of weakness; there-
"fore, if the persons reluctant be discreet, they will
"be won betimes, and by good persuasions; if in-
"discreet, better they were removed, for by their
"factions many are driven to be papists. From
"you, Dr. Reynolds, and your associates, I expect
"obedience and humility, (the marks of honest and
"good men,) and that you would persuade others
"abroad by your example."

Dr. Reynolds.—"We here do promise to perform
"all duties to bishops, as reverend fathers, and to
"join with them against the common adversary for
"the quiet of the church."

Mr. Chaderton.—"I request the wearing of the
"surplice and the cross in baptism may not be urged
"on some godly ministers in Lancashire, fearing, if
"forced unto them, many won by their preaching

^u This he spake on his knee.

“ of the gospel will revolt to popery ; and I parti-
 “ cularly instance in the vicar of Ratsdale ^x.”

A. D 1603.
 1 James.

Archbishop of Canterbury.—“ You could not have
 “ light upon a worse ; for not many years ago, as
 “ my lord chancellor knows ^y, it was proved before
 “ me that by his unreverent usage of the eucharist
 “ (dealing the bread out of a basket, every man
 “ putting in his hand and taking out a piece) he
 “ made many loathe the communion, and refuse to
 “ come to church.”

His Majesty.—“ It is not my purpose, and I dare
 “ say it is not the bishops’ intent, presently and out
 “ of hand to enforce these things, without fatherly
 “ admonitions, conferences, and persuasions, pre-
 “ mised ; but I wish it were examined whether such
 “ Lancashire ministers, by their pains and preaching,
 “ have converted any from popery, and withal be
 “ men of honest life and quiet conversation. If so,
 “ let letters be written to the bishop of Chester ^z
 “ (who is a grave and good man) to that purpose,
 “ that some favour may be afforded unto them ; and
 “ let the lord archbishop write the letters.”

Bishop of London.—“ If this be granted, the copy
 “ of these letters will fly all over England, and then
 “ all nonconformists will make the like request ; and
 “ so no fruit follow of this conference, but things
 “ will be worse than they were before. I desire,
 “ therefore, a time may be limited, within the com-
 “ pass whereof they shall conform.”

His Majesty.—“ I assent thereunto ; and let the
 “ bishop of the diocese set down the time.”

^x [Barlow, ib. p. 99] This he spake kneeling.

^z This was Richard Vaughan, afterwards bishop of London

A. D. 1603.
1 James.

Mr. Knewstub.—“ I request the like favour of
“ forbearance to some honest ministers in Suffolk ;
“ for it will make much against their credits in the
“ country to be now forced to the surplice, and cross
“ in baptism ^a.”

Archbishop of Canterbury [was answering.]

His Majesty.—“ Nay, sir, let me alone to answer
“ him. Sir, you shew yourself an uncharitable man.
“ We have here taken pains, and, in the end, have
“ concluded on unity and uniformity ; and you, for-
“ sooth, must prefer the credits of a few private
“ men before the peace of the church. This is just
“ the Scotch argument, when any thing was con-
“ cluded which disliked some humours. Let them
“ either conform themselves shortly, or they shall
“ hear of it.”

Lord Cecil.—“ The indecency of ambuling com-
“ munion is very offensive, and hath driven many
“ from the church.”

Bishop of London.—“ And, Mr. Chaderton, I could
“ tell you of sitting communions in Emanuel Col-
“ lege.”

Mr. Chaderton.—“ It is so, because of the seats so
“ placed as they be ; and yet we have some kneeling
“ also in our chapel.”

His Majesty.—“ No more hereof for the present,
“ seeing they have jointly promised hereafter to be
“ quiet and obedient.”

Whereat he rose up to depart into an inner chamber.

Bishop of London.—“ God’s goodness be blessed
“ for your majesty, and give health and prosperity to

^a Here he fell down on his knees.

“ your highness, your gracious queen, the young A. D 1603.
1 James.
“ prince, and all the royal issue.”

Thus ended the three days' conference, wherein The general censure of the conference.
how discreetly the king carried himself, posterity
(out of the reach of flattery) is the most competent
judge, such matters being most truly discerned at
distance ^b. It is generally said, that herein he went
above himself; that the bishop of London appeared
even with himself; and Dr. Reynolds fell much
beneath himself. Others observed that archbishop
Whitgift spake most gravely; Bancroft, when out
of passion, most politicly; Bilson most learnedly;
—and, of the divines, Mr. Reynolds most largely;
Knewstub most affectionately; Chaderton most
sparingly. In this scene, only Dr. Sparks was *καφὸν
πρόσωπον*, making use of his hearing, not speech;
converted, it seems, to the truth of what was
spoken, and soon after setting forth a treatise of
unity and uniformity.

But the nonconformists complained that the king The non-conformists' complaint
sent for their divines, not to have their scruples
satisfied, but his pleasure propounded; not that he

^b [Sir John Harrington mentions this conference in his *Nugæ Antiquæ*, I. 181, (ed. 1804,) but gives no very commendable account of the king's oratory; who, it seems, was not always very select in his language. See the last Sect. of this reign. Dr. James Moun-
tagne, in a letter of the same date to his mother, has also given a brief account of it. Winwood, II. 13. From his

letters, as well as from Johnson's History, it should seem that the puritan divines who assisted at the conference were satisfied with its results. See Johnson, p. 380. The king's own opinion of his achievements on this occasion may be seen in his letters, Strype's Whitgift, App. p. 239. See also the new edition of Dodd's Church History, with the notes, vol. IV. p. 21.]

A. D. 1603. might know what they could say, but they what he
 1 James. would do in the matter. Besides, no wonder if Dr. Reynolds a little lost himself, whose eyes were partly dazzled with the light of the king's majesty, partly daunted with the heat of his displeasure. Others complain that this conference is partially set forth only by Dr. Barlow, dean of Chester, their professed adversary, to the great disadvantage of their divines. And when the Israelites go down to the Philistines to whet all their iron tools, no wonder if they set a sharp edge on their own, and a blunt one on their enemies' weapons.

The pro-
 duct of this
 conference.

This conference produced some alterations in the liturgy. Women's baptizing of infants, formerly frequent, hereafter forbidden; in the rubric of absolution, remission of sins inserted; confirmation termed also an examination of children; and some words altered in the dominical gospels, with a resolution for a new translation of the Bible. But whereas it was hitherto disputable whether the north (where he long lived) or the south (whither he lately came) should prevail most, on the king's judgment, in church-government, this doubt was now clearly decided. Henceforward many cripples in conformity were cured of their former halting therein; and such who knew not their own, till they knew the king's mind in this matter, for the future quietly digested the ceremonies of the church.

The copy
 of the mil-
 lenary peti-
 tion.

We have formerly made mention of the Millemanus Petition for Reformation, which about this time was solemnly presented to his majesty, and which here we have truly exemplified:

“ *The humble Petition of the Ministers of the Church* A. D. 1603.
1 James.
“ *of England, desiring Reformation of certain*
“ *Ceremonies and Abuses of the Church* ^c.

“ To the most Christian and excellent prince, our
“ gracious and dread sovereign James, by the grace
“ of God, &c., we, the ministers of the church of
“ England that desire reformation, wish a long,
“ prosperous, and happy reign over us in this life,
“ and in the next everlasting salvation.

“ Most gracious and dread sovereign, seeing it
“ hath pleased the Divine Majesty, to the great
“ comfort of all good Christians, to advance your
“ highness, according to your just title, to the peace-
“ able government of this church and commonwealth
“ of England: We, the ministers of the gospel in
“ this land, neither as factious men affecting a popu-
“ lar parity in the church, nor as schismatics aiming
“ at the dissolution of the state ecclesiastical, but as
“ the faithful servants of Christ and loyal subjects
“ to your majesty, desiring and longing for the re-
“ dress of divers abuses of the church, could do no
“ less, in our obedience to God, service to your
“ majesty, love to his church, than acquaint your
“ princely majesty with our particular griefs; for, as
“ your princely pen writeth, ‘The king, as a good
“ physician, must first know what peccant humours
“ his patient naturally is most subject unto, before
“ he can begin his cure ^d.’ And, although divers of

^c [Presented 4th April, 1604. tish Museum, p. 27.]
Dated Jan. 14, 1603. Kennet’s ^d [BAΣ. ΔΩΡON, p. 159. In
MS. of this reign, in the Bri- king James’s Works, ed. 1616]

A.D. 1603.
1 James.

“us that sue for reformation have formerly, in
“respect of the times, subscribed to the book, (some
“upon protestation, some upon expositions given
“them, some with condition,) rather than the church
“should have been deprived of their labour and
“ministry; yet now we, to the number of *more than*
“*a thousand*^e of your majesty’s subjects and minis-
“ters, all groaning as under a common burden of
“human rites and ceremonies, do with one joint
“consent humble ourselves at your majesty’s feet,
“to be eased and relieved in this behalf. Our
“humble suit then unto your majesty is, that these
“offences following, some may be removed, some
“amended, some qualified.

I. “*In the church service.*—That the cross in bap-
“tism, interrogatories ministered to infants, con-
“firmation, as superfluous may be taken away.
“Baptism not to be ministered by women, and so
“explained. The cap and surplice not urged. That
“examination may go before the communion; that
“it be ministered with a sermon. That divers terms
“of priests, and absolution, and some other used,
“with the ring in marriage, and other such-like in
“the book, may be corrected. The longsomeness
“of service abridged. Church songs and music
“moderated to better edification. That the Lord’s
“day be not profaned. The rest upon holy days
“not so strictly urged. That there may be an
“uniformity of doctrine prescribed. No popish
“opinion to be any more taught or defended. No

^e [How men with so much notorious a falsehood as this, profession can be guilty of so is indeed surprising.]

“ ministers charged to teach their people to bow at
 “ the name of Jesus. That the canonical scriptures — A. D. 1603.
 1 James.
 “ only be read in the church.

II. “ *Concerning church ministers.* — That none
 “ hereafter be admitted into the ministry but able
 “ and sufficient men, and those to preach diligently,
 “ and especially upon the Lord’s day. That such
 “ as be already entered, and cannot preach, may
 “ either be removed, and some charitable course
 “ taken with them for their relief; or else to be
 “ forced, according to the value of their livings, to
 “ maintain preachers. That non-residency be not
 “ permitted. That king Edward’s statute, for the
 “ lawfulness of ministers’ marriage, be revived. That
 “ ministers be not urged to subscribe, but, according
 “ to the law, to the Articles of Religion and the
 “ king’s supremacy only.

III. “ *For church livings and maintenance.* — That
 “ bishops leave their commendams; some holding
 “ prebends, some parsonages, some vicarages, with
 “ their bishoprics. That double-beneficed men be
 “ not suffered to hold, some two, some three bene-
 “ fices with cure; and some two, three, or four
 “ dignities besides. That impropriations, annexed to
 “ bishoprics and colleges, be demised only to the
 “ preachers’ incumbents for the old rent. That the
 “ impropriations of laymen’s fee may be charged
 “ with a sixth or seventh part of the worth, to the
 “ maintenance of the preaching minister.

IV. “ *For church discipline.* — That the discipline
 “ and excommunication may be administered accord-
 “ ing to Christ’s own institution; or at the least,
 “ that enormities may be redressed: as namely, that
 “ excommunication come not forth under the name

A. D. 1603. “ of lay persons, chancellors, officials, &c. That men
 1 James. “ be not excommunicated for trifles and twelve-
 “ penny matters. That none be excommunicated
 “ without consent of his pastor. That the officers
 “ be not suffered to extort unreasonable fees. That
 “ none, having jurisdiction or registers’ places, put
 “ out the same to farm. That divers popish canons
 “ (as for restraint of marriage at certain times) be
 “ reversed. That the longsomeness of suits in eccle-
 “ siastical courts (which hang sometime two, three,
 “ four, five, six, or seven years) may be restrained.
 “ That the oath *ex officio*, whereby men are forced
 “ to accuse themselves, be more sparingly used.
 “ That licenses for marriage, without banns asked,
 “ be more cautiously granted.

“ These, with such other abuses yet remaining and
 “ practised in the church of England, we are able to
 “ shew not to be agreeable to the scriptures, if it
 “ shall please your highness farther to hear us, or
 “ more at large by writing to be informed, or by
 “ conference among the learned to be resolved. And
 “ yet we doubt not but that, without any farther
 “ process, your majesty (of whose Christian judgment
 “ we have received so good a taste already) is able
 “ of yourself to judge of the equity of this cause.
 “ God, we trust, hath appointed your highness our
 “ physician to heal these diseases. And we say,
 “ with Mordecai to Hester, *Who knoweth whether*
 “ *you are come to the kingdom for such a time?*
 “ Thus your majesty shall do that which we are
 “ persuaded shall be acceptable to God, honour-
 “ able to your majesty in all succeeding ages, pro-
 “ fitable to his church, (which shall be thereby in-
 “ creased,) comfortable to your ministers, (which

“ shall be no more suspended, silenced, disgraced, A. D. 1603.
 “ imprisoned for men’s traditions,) and prejudicial 2 James.
 “ to none, but to those that seek their own quiet,
 “ credit, and profit in the world. Thus, with all
 “ dutiful submission, referring ourselves to your ma-
 “ jesty’s pleasure for your gracious answer, as God
 “ shall direct you, we most humbly recommend your
 “ highness to the Divine Majesty; whom we be-
 “ seech, for Christ his sake, to dispose your royal
 “ heart to do herein what shall be to his glory, the
 “ good of his church, and your endless comfort.

“ Your Majesty’s most humble Subjects,

“ THE MINISTERS OF THE GOSPEL,

“ that desire not a disorderly innovation, but a due
 “ and godly reformation ^f.”

25. This calm and still, but deep petition ^g, being The issue of this petition.

^f [Printed (4to, 1603) as it was presented on the 4th of April, in the following answer of the university of Oxford: “ *The Answer of the Vice-Chancellour, the Doctors, both the Proctors, and other the Heads of Houses in the University of Oxford, (agreeable, undoubtedly, to the joint and uniform opinion of all the Deans and Chapters, and all other the learned and obedient Clergy of the Church of England,) to the humble Petition of the Ministers of the Church of England, desiring Reformation of certain Ceremonies and Abuses of the Church.* ‘ Beware of the concision.’ Phil. iii. 2.” Cum sub specie studii per-

fectionis, imperfectionem nullam tolerare possumus aut in corpore aut in membris ecclesie tunc diabolum nos tumefacere superbia superbia et hypocrisi seducere, moneamur.” Calvin adv. Anabapt. art. 2. At Oxford: Printed by Joseph Barnes, Printer to the University. 1603. 4to.]

^g [These words probably are an allusion to the Reply of the University of Oxford, which thus characterises that petition in its Epist. Ded. prefixed to its answer: “ Which we may well resemble unto still-running streams, which are deep-est there where they seem to be most calm.”]

A. D. 1603. (as is aforesaid) presented to the king, it was given
2 James. out that his majesty lent it a favourable ear; that
 some great ones about him gave it a consenting
 entertainment; that some potent strangers (I under-
 stand of the Scottish nation) had undertaken the
 conduct and managing thereof. Whether indeed it
 was so, God knows, or whether these things were
 made to make the people; the van pretending a
 victory, that the rear might follow the more com-
 fortably. Sure it is this petition ran the gauntlet
 throughout all the prelatical party, every one giving
 it a lash, some with their pens, moe with their
 tongues; and the dumb ministers, as they term
 them, found their speech most vocal against it. The
 universities (and justly) found themselves much ag-
 grieved, that the petitioners should proportion a
 seventh part only out of an impropriation in a lay-
 man's fee; whilst those belonging to colleges and
 cathedrals should be demised to the vicars at the
 old rent, without fine, without improvement: where-
 as scholars, being children of the prophets, counted
 themselves most proper for church revenues; and
 this motion, if effected, would cut off more than the
 nipples of the breasts of both universities, in point
 of maintenance.

Universi-
 ties justly
 nettled
 thereat.

26. Cambridge^h therefore began, and passed a
 grace in their congregationⁱ, that whosoever in their
 university should, by word or writing, oppose the
 received doctrine and discipline of England, or any
 part thereof, should *ipso facto* be suspended from
 their former and excluded from all future degrees^k.

^h [L'Estrange's Alliance of
 Divine Offices, &c. p. 23. Hey-
 lyn's History of the Presby-

tery, p. 367]

ⁱ [9th June, 1603.]

^k [This *placet* is published

Oxford followed, (recompensing the slowness of her ^{A. D. 1604} pace with the firmness of her footing,) making a ^{2 James.} strong and sharp confutation of the petition. But indeed king James made the most real refutation thereof, not resenting it (whatsoever is pretended) according to the desires and hopes (not to say the reports) of such who presented it; and after his majesty had discountenanced it, some hotspurs of the opposite party began to maintain (many copies thereof being scattered into vulgar hands) that now the property thereof was altered from a petition into a libel, and such papers defamatory of the present government punishable by the statute *primo Elizabethæ*.

Under favour, I conceive this petition, by us ^{Other} lately exemplified, the proper millenary petition. ^{millenary} Otherwise I observe that millenary petition is *vox* ^{petitions.} *æquivoca*, and attributed to all petitions with numerous and indefinite subscriptions, which were started this year concerning church reformation. Many there were of this kind, moving for more or less alteration, as the promoters of them stood affected. For all men's desires will then be of the same size, when their bodies shall be of the same stature. Of these, one most remarkable required a subscription in manner as followeth :

“ We, whose names are underwritten, do agree to
 “ make our humble petition to the king's majesty,
 “ that the present state of the church may be
 “ farther reformed in all things needful, according
 “ to the rule of God's holy word, and agreeable to

in the original, in the Reply of the University of Oxford,
 Epist. Ded.]

A. D. 1604. "the example of other reformed churches, which
 2 James. "have restored both the doctrine and discipline, as
 "it was delivered by our Saviour Christ and his
 "holy apostles."

Two things are remarkable therein: first, that this was no present petition, but a preparative thereunto, which in due time might have proved one, if meeting with proportionable encouragement; secondly, that it went farther than the former, as not being for the *καθαρίζειν*, but for the *αἵρειν*—not for the paring, pruning, and purging, but for the extirpating and abolishing of bishops, and conforming church government to foreign presbytery. Whether the subscribers to this petition were, for the main, a recruit of new persons, or a resumption of those who underwrit the former, I dare not define. Probably many, sensible that before they were petition-bound, enlarged themselves now in their additional desires; for such who ask no more than what they would have, commonly receive less than what they ask, seeing petitions of this nature are seldom granted in full latitude, without some abatement. They allowed, therefore, some over-measure in their requests, that, the surplusage being defalked, the remainder might in some manner give them satisfaction¹.

¹ [In the Reply of the University of Oxford it is stated, "Howbeit as long as it passed in private (sc. this petition) under the name of a particular motion made to his most excellent majesty, we laid our hands upon our mouths, and with due reverence expected in silence the wise resolution of his religious heart. But these men, as they are impatient of delay, or else to gain credit with the people, on whom they greatly do rely, soon after send forth into all quarters of the realm store of these pretended petitions, accompanied with such lewd, false,

Sure I am the prelatical party complained that, to swell a number, the nonconformists did not choose, but scrape subscribers; not to speak of the ubiquitariness of some hands, the same being always present at all petitions. Indeed to the first only ministers were admitted, but to the latter brood of petitions no hand which had five fingers was refused. Insomuch that master George (since lord) Goring, who then knew little and cared less for church government, (as unable to govern himself, being then, fifty years since, rather a youth than a man—a boy than a youth,) set his hand thereunto, in the right, I believe, of his mother, a good lady much addicted to that party; and king James would in merriment make sport with him, to know what reasons moved him at that age to this subscription^m. But enough of these petitioners: perchance we shall hear more of them the next parliament.

A.D. 1604.
2 James.

Unfair
dealing in
procuring
of hands.

“and absurd suggestions, as if
“our noble king had lent their
“motion a favourable ear, and
“given it some kind of con-
“senting entertainment; as if
“in all this they had done no-
“thing whereunto they were
“not animated and encouraged
“by some of special credit
“with his highness; as if some
“busy-headed strangers had
“undertaken their cause
“This course R. H. did make
“us think, that now they had
“altered the nature of that
“foresaid schedule, and of an
“entitled petition to H. M.
“had made it a covert kind of
“libel; whereby securely, as
“they thought, they might de-
“prave and slander not only
“the Communion Book, but
“the whole estate of the church

“ . . . which undue and dis-
“honest practice having so
“changed the quality of their
“petition, whether it hath
“brought the contrivers and
“preferers of it within the
“compass of that stat. 1 Eliz.
“and made them liable to the
“penalties of the same, we
“take not upon us to deter-
“mine. Howbeit hereof we
“could not but take notice:
“that, by their impunity, divers
“others very lewdly affected
“have, in divers parts of the
“kingdom, presumed to trou-
“ble H. M. and tax the state
“with the like clamorous libels
“and defamatory supplica-
“tions.” Epist. Ded.]

^m [See the Reply of the
University of Oxford, Epist.
Ded.]

SECT. II.

TO

MATTHEW GILLYE,

ESQ.

Solomon saith, And there is a friend that is nearer than a brother ^a. Now, though I have read many writers on the text, your practice is the best comment, which hath most truly expounded it unto me. Accept this, therefore, as the return of the thanks of your respectful friend ^b.

A. D. 1604.
2 James.

The death
of arch-
bishop
Whitgift



USELESS jealousies attend old age, as appears by archbishop Whitgift, who ended his life, according to his own desire, that he might not live to see the parliament; being more scared than hurt, as fearing some strange opposition therein, and

^a Prov. xviii. 24.

^b [An equally honest and hearty commendation of this patron's goodness is given by Fuller in his Pisgah Sight of

Palestine: "*Matthæo Gilly vere generoso et (quod tri-umpho) parochiano meo Wal-thamensi. Fratribus meis pastoribus plures agni con-*

an assault of unconformists on church discipline, fiercer than his age-feeble body should be able to resist ^c. Born he was of ancient parentage, at Great Grimsby in Lincolnshire ^d, bred in Cambridge, admitted in Queen's College ^e, removed scholar to Pembroke Hall, (where Mr. Bradford was his tutor,) translated fellow to Peter House ^f, returned master to Pembroke ^g thence advanced master of Trinity College ^h; successively parson of Teversham ⁱ, prebend of Ely ^k, dean of Lincoln ^l, bishop of Worcester ^m; where the queen forgave him his first-fruits—a rare gift for her, who was so good an housewife of her revenues. Yea, she constantly called him her little black husband; which favour nothing elated his gravity, carrying himself as one unconcerned in all worldly honour. He survived the queen not a full year, getting his bane by going in a cold morning by barge to Fulham, there to consult with the bishops about managing their matters in the ensuing parliament; and no wonder if those few sparks of natural heat were quickly quenched with

A. D. 1604.

2 James.

"tingant tales." II. 96. In the Worthies, also, he mentions him again as possessing the manor of the parish of Little Oakley, near Harwich, (I. 494.) which it seems he held by right of his wife; and yet, strange to say, no trace of him or his family occurs either in the topographical or genealogical histories of the county of Essex.]

^c See the Preface to Hampton Court Conference, [where Barlow says of him, then recently dead, "A man happy in his life and death, loved of

"the best while he lived, and
"heard of God for his decease;
"most earnestly desiring, not
"many days before he was
"stricken, that he might not
"yet live to see this parliament, as near as it was."]

^d [A. D. 1530.]

^e [A. D. 1549.]

^f [A. D. 1555.]

^g [April 21, 1567.]

^h [July 4, 1567.]

ⁱ [A. D. 1571.]

^k [A. D. 1568.]

^l [A. D. 1573.]

^m [A. D. 1576.]

A. D. 1604. a small cold in him, who was then above seventy-
 2 James two years of ageⁿ. He died of the palsy, one of the
 worthiest men that ever the English hierarchy did
 enjoy^o.

Mr
 Prynne,
 censuring
 Whitgift,
 censured.

2. But a modern writer, in his voluminous book^p
 against the practices of English prelates, bitterly
 inveigheth against him, whom he termeth a pontifi-
 cal (meaneth he paganish, or popish?) bishop, and
 chargeth him with many misdemeanours. Give me
 leave a little, without bitterness, both to pass my
 censure on his book, and make this archbishop his
 just defence against his calumination. First, in
 general, behold the complexion of his whole book,
 and it is black and swarthy in the uncharitable sub-
 ject and title thereof: "An Historical Collection of
 "the several execrable Treasons, Conspiracies, Re-
 "bellions, Seditions, State Schisms, Contumacies,
 "Anti-monarchical Practices, and Oppressions of
 "English Prelates," &c. Thus he weeds men's lives,
 and makes use only, to their disgrace, of their in-

ⁿ [Strype's Whitgift, p. 577.]

^o [According to sir George Paul, "his majesty, being much
 "troubled with the report of
 "the archbishop's sickness,
 "came upon the Tuesday fol-
 "lowing to visit and comfort
 "him, with very kind and gra-
 "cious speeches, saying, 'that
 "he would beg him of God in
 "his prayer; which if he could
 "obtain, he should think it one
 "of the greatest temporal bless-
 "ings that could be given him
 "in this kingdom.' The arch-
 "bishop made offer to speak
 "to his majesty in Latin; but
 "neither his highness nor any
 "there present well under-

"stood what he said, save only
 "that by the last words, '*pro*
 "*ecclesia Dei, pro ecclesia Dei,*'
 "(which in earnest manner,
 "with his eyes and hands lift
 "up, he oftentimes iterated,)
 "his majesty conceived (as it
 "pleased him afterwards to
 "report) that he continued
 "the suit which sundry times
 "before, and at his last at-
 "tendance on his highness, he
 "had earnestly recommended
 "unto his royal and special
 "care in behalf of the church."
 Life of Whitgift, §. 133.]

^p [The Antipathy of the
 English Lordly Prelacy, &c.
 p. 149. 4to. 1641.]

firmities; meantime suppressing many eminent ac-
 tions, which his own conscience knows were per-
 formed by them. What a monster might be made
 out of the best beauties in the world, if a limner
 should leave what is lovely, and only collect into
 one picture what he findeth amiss in them! I know
 there be white teeth in the blackest blackamoor, and
 a black bill in the whitest swan. Worst men have
 something to be commended, best men something in
 them to be condemned; only to insist on men's
 faults, to render them odious, is no ingenious em-
 ployment. God, we know, so useth his fan, that he
 keepeth the corn, but driveth away the chaff; but
 who is he that winnoweth so, as to throw away the
 good grain, and retain the chaff only?

3. Besides, it containeth untruths, or at the best
 uncertainties, which he venteth with assurance to
 posterity. For instance, speaking of Walter Tyrrell⁹,
 the French knight, casually killing king William
 Rufus in New Forest, with an arrow glancing from
 a tree, he saith that in all likelihood Anselm, arch-
 bishop of Canterbury, (our Whitgift's predecessor,)
 with fore-plotted treason hired Tyrrell to murder
 the king in this manner. Now to condemn the
 memory of so pious and learned a man as Anselm
 was, (though I will not excuse him in all things,)
 five hundred years after the fact pretended on his
 own single bare surmise, contrary to the constant
 current of all authors, no one whispering the least
 suspicion thereof—hath, I believe, but little of law
 and nothing of gospel therein. Let the glancing of
 Tyrrell's arrow mind men how they *bend their bows*

A. D. 1104.
 2 James

His untruth
 of Anselm

A. D. 1604. *to shoot arrows, even bitter words*^r at the memory of
 2 James. the deceased, lest it rebound back, not as his did to
 hit a stander-by, but justly to wound him who unjustly delivered it.

His slander
 of Whit-
 gift;

4. But to come to our reverend Whitgift. First, he chargeth him for troubling the judges with his contestations about prohibitions, endeavouring to enlarge his ecclesiastical jurisdiction. This being the accusation but of a common lawyer, and that in favour of his own courts, I leave to some doctor of the civil or canon law, as most proper to make answer thereunto; only, whereas he saith that Whitgift did it to the prejudice of the queen's prerogative^s, surely she knew her own privileges so well, besides those of her council to teach her, that she would never have so favourably reflected on him, if sensible (wise princes having a tender touch in that point) that he any way went about to abridge her royal authority.

And silly
 taxing of
 his train.

5. Secondly, he taxeth him for his extraordinary train of above sixty men-servants; though not so extravagant a number, if his person and place be considered, who were all trained up to martial affairs, and mustered almost every week, his stable being well furnished with store of great horses^t. But was it a fault, in those martial days, when the invasion of a foreign foe was daily suspected, to fit his family for their own and the kingdom's defence? Did not Abraham, that heavenly prophet and holy patriarch,

^r Psalm lxiv. 3.

^s P. 149.

^t [It was not in Whitgift's power to have declined such a charge, had he desired it: all

lords spiritual as well as temporal were obliged to maintain a certain quota of men for the queen's service.]

arm his *trained servants in his own house*^u, in his A. D. 1604. victorious expedition against the king of Sodom? ^{2 James.}

Yea, if churchmen of an anti-prelatical spirit had not since tampered more dangerously with training of servants, though none of their own, both learning and religion had perchance looked at this day with a more cheerful countenance.

6. Whereas it intimates that this archbishop had been better employed in training up scholars for the pulpit than soldiers for the field, know that as the latter was performed the former was not quitted by him: witness many worthy preachers bred under him in Trinity College, and more elsewhere relieved by him; yea, his bounty was too large to be confined within the narrow seas—Beza, Drusius, and other foreign protestant divines tasting freely thereof. Nor was his liberality only a cistern for the present age, but a running river from a fresh fountain, to water posterity in that school of Croydon, which he hath beautifully built and bountifully endowed. More might be said in the vindication of this worthy prelate from his reproachful pen; but I purposely forbear, the rather because it is possible that the learned gentleman since, upon a serious review of his own work, and experimental observation of the passages of this age, may be more offended with his own writing herein, than others take just exception thereat.

7. Archbishop Whitgift was buried at Croydon, His burial, and suc-
March 27th^x; the earl of Worcester and lord
Zouch, his pupils, attending his hearse; and bishop

^u Gen. xiv. 14.

^x [Paul's Life of Whitgift, p. 123.]